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August 10, 1934







HERODOTUS:

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM BELOE.



COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK III.

THALIA.

CHAPTER I.

AGAINST this Amasis, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, led an army, composed as well of his other subjects, as of the Ionic and Æolic Greeks. His inducements were these: by an ambassador whom he despatched for this purpose into Egypt, he demanded the daughter of Amasis, which he did at the suggestion of a certain Egyptian who had entertained an enmity against his master. This man was a physician, and when Cyrus had once requested of Amasis, the best medical advice which Egypt could afford, for a disorder in his eyes, the king had forced him, in preference to all others, from his wife and family, and sent him into Persia. In revenge for which treatment, this Egyptian instigated Cambyses to require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction from the loss of his child, or, by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of Cambyses. Amasis both dreaded and detested the power of Persia, and was unwilling to accept, though fearful of refusing, the overture. But he well knew that his daughter was not meant to be the wife but the concubine of Cambyses, and therefore he determined on this mode of conduct: Apries, the former king, had left an only daughter: her name was Nitetis, and she was possessed of much elegance and beauty. The king, having decorated her with great splendour of dress, sent her into Persia as his own child. Not long after, when Cambyses occasionally addressed her as the daughter of Amasis, "Sir," said she, "you are greatly mistaken, and Amasis has

"deceived you; he has adorned my person, and sent me to you as his daughter; but Apries was my father, whom Amasia, with his other rebellious subjects, dethroned and put to death." This speech and this occasion immediately prompted Cambyses, in great wrath, to commence hostilities against Egypt. Such is the Persian account of the story.

II. The Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own, by asserting that this incident did not happen to him, but to Cyrus, from whom, and from this daughter of Apries, they say he was born. This, however, is certainly not true. The Egyptians are of all mankind the best conversant with the Persian manners, and they must have known that a natural child could never succeed to the throne of Persia, while a legitimate one was alive. It was equally certain that Cambyses was not born of an Egyptian woman, but was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspe, of the race of the Achæmenides. This story, therefore, was invented by the Egyptians, that they might from this pretence claim a connexion with the house of Cyrus.

III. Another story also is asserted, which to me seems improbable. They say that a Persian lady once visiting the wives of Cyrus, saw standing near their mother, the children of Cassandane, whom she complimented in high terms on their superior excellence of form and person. "Me," replied Cassandane, "who am the mother of these children, Cyrus neglects and despises; all his kindness is bestowed on this Egyptian female." This she said from resentment against Nitetis. They add that Cambyses, her eldest son, instantly exclaimed, "Mother, as soon as I am a man, I will effect the utter destruction of Egypt." These words, from a prince who was then only ten years of age, surprised and delighted the women; and as soon as he became a man, and succeeded to the throne, he remembered the incident, and commenced hostilities against Egypt.

IV. He had another inducement to this undertaking. Among the auxiliaries of Amasis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, and greatly

distinguished by his mental as well as military accomplishments. This person being, for I know not what reason, incensed against Amasis, fled in a vessel from Egypt, to have a conference with Cambyzes. As he possessed great influence among the auxiliaries, and was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, Amasis ordered him to be rigorously pursued, and for this purpose, equipped, under the care of the most faithful of his eunuchs, a three-banked galley. The pursuit was successful, and Phanes was taken in Lydia, but he was not carried back to Egypt, for he circumvented his guards, and by making them drunk, effected his escape. He fled instantly to Persia: Cambyzes was then meditating the expedition against Egypt, but was deterred by the difficulty of marching an army over the deserts, where so little water was to be procured. Phanes explained to the king all the concerns of Amasis; and to obviate the above difficulty, advised him to send and ask of the king of the Arabs, a safe passage through his territories.

V. This is indeed the only avenue by which Egypt can possibly be entered. The whole country, from Phœnicia to Cadytis, a city which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, and in my opinion equal to Sardis, together with all the commercial towns as far as Jenysus, belong to the Arabians. This is also the case with that space of land which extends from the Syrian Jenysus to the lake of Serbonis, from the vicinity of which, mount Casius stretches to the sea. At this lake, where, as was reported, Typhon was concealed, Egypt commences. This tract, which comprehends the city Jenysus, mount Casius, and the lake of Serbonis, is of no trifling extent; it is a three days' journey over a very dry and parched desert.

VI. I shall now explain what is known to very few of those who travel into Egypt by sea. Twice in every year there are exported from different parts of Greece to Egypt; and from Phœnicia in particular, wine secured in earthen jars, not one of which jars is afterwards to be seen. I shall describe to what purpose they are applied: the principal magistrate of every town is obliged to collect all the earthen vessels

imported to the place where he resides, and send them to Memphis. The Memphians fill them with water, and afterwards transport them to the Syrian deserts. Thus all the earthen vessels carried into Egypt, and there carefully collected, are continually added to those already in Syria.

VII. Such are the means which the Persians have constantly adopted to provide themselves with water in these deserts, from the time that they were first masters of Egypt. But as, at the time of which I speak, they had not this resource, Cambyses listened to the advice of his Halicarnassian guest, and solicited of the Arabian prince a safe passage through his territories; which was granted, after mutual promises of friendship.

VIII. These are the ceremonies which the Arabians observe when they make alliances, of which no people in the world are more tenacious. On these occasions some one connected with both parties stands betwixt them; and with a sharp stone opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger, of those who are about to contract. He then takes a piece of the vest of each person, and dips it in their blood, with which he stains several stones purposely placed in the midst of the assembly, invoking, during the process, Bacchus and Urania. When this is finished, he who solicits the compact to be made, pledges his friends for the sincerity of his engagements to the stranger or citizen, or whoever it may happen to be; and all of them conceive an indispensable necessity to exist, of performing what they promise. Bacchus and Urania are the only deities whom they venerate. They cut off their hair round their temples, from the supposition that Bacchus wore his in that form; him they call Urotalt; Urania has the name of Alilat.

IX. When the Arabian prince had made an alliance with the messengers of Cambyses, he ordered all his camels to be laden with camel-skins filled with water, and to be driven to the deserts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyses and his army. Of this incident, the above seems to me the more probable narrative. There is also another, which however I may disbe-

lieve, I think I ought not to omit. In Arabia is a large river called Corys, which loses itself in the Red Sea: from this river the Arabian is said to have formed a canal of the skins of oxen and other animals sewed together, which was continued to the above-mentioned deserts, where he also sunk a number of cisterns to receive the water so introduced. From the river to the desert is a journey of twelve days; and they say that the water was conducted by three distinct canals into as many different places.

X. At the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, was encamped, and expected Cambyses in arms. Amasis himself, after a reign of forty-four years, died before Cambyses had advanced to Egypt, and during the whole enjoyment of his power, he experienced no extraordinary calamity. At his death his body was embalmed, and deposited in a sepulchre which he had erected for himself in the temple of Minerva. During the reign of his son Psammenitus, Egypt beheld a most remarkable prodigy; there was rain in the Egyptian Thebes, a circumstance which never happened before, and which, as the Thebans themselves assert, has never occurred since. In the higher parts of Egypt it never rains, but at that period we read it rained at Thebes in distinct drops.

XI. The Persians having passed the deserts, fixed their camp opposite to the Egyptians, as if with the design of offering them battle. The Greeks and Carians, who were the confederates of the Egyptians, to show their resentment against Phanes, for introducing a foreign army against Egypt, adopted this expedient: they brought his sons, whom he had left behind, into the camp, and in a conspicuous place, and in the sight of their father, they put them one by one to death upon a vessel brought thither for that purpose. When they had done this, they filled the vase which had received the blood with wine and water; having drunk which, all the auxiliaries immediately engaged the enemy. The battle was obstinately disputed, but after considerable loss on both sides, the Egyptians fled.

XII. By the people inhabiting the place where this battle was fought, a very surprising thing was pointed out to my attention. The bones of those who fell in the engagement were soon afterwards collected, and separated into two distinct heaps. It was observed of the Persians, that their heads were so extremely soft, as to yield to the slight impression even of a pebble; those of the Egyptians, on the contrary, were so firm, that the blow of a large stone could hardly break them. The reason which they gave for this was very satisfactory—the Egyptians from a very early age shave their heads, which by being constantly exposed to the action of the sun, become firm and hard; this treatment also prevents baldness, very few instances of which are ever to be seen in Egypt. Why the skulls of the Persians are so soft may be explained from their being from their infancy accustomed to shelter them from the sun, by the constant use of turbans. I made the very same remark at Papremis, after examining the bones of those who, under the conduct of Achæmenes, son of Darius, were defeated by Inaros the African.

XIII. The Egyptians after their defeat fled in great disorder to Memphis. Cambyses despatched a Persian up the river in a Mitylenian vessel to treat with them; but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a crowd from the citadel, destroyed the vessel, tore the crew in pieces, and afterwards carried them into the citadel. Siege was immediately laid to the place, and the Egyptians were finally compelled to surrender. Those Africans who lived nearest to Egypt, apprehensive of a similar fate, submitted without contest, imposing a tribute on themselves, and sending presents to the Persians. Their example was followed by the Cyreneans and Barceans, who were struck with the like panic. Cambyses received the African presents very graciously, but he expressed much resentment at those of the Cyreneans, as I think, on account of their meanness. They sent him five hundred minæ of silver, which, as soon as he received, with his own hands he threw amongst his soldiers.

XIV. On the tenth day after the surrender of the citadel of Memphis, Psammenitus, the Egyptian king, who had reigned no more than six months, was by order of Cambyzes, ignominiously conducted, with other Egyptians, to the outside of the walls, and by way of trial of his disposition, thus treated: His daughter, in the habit of a slave, was sent with a pitcher to draw water; she was accompanied by a number of young women clothed in the same garb, and selected from families of the first distinction. They passed, with much and loud lamentation, before their parents, from whom their treatment excited a correspondent violence of grief. But when Psammenitus beheld the spectacle, he merely declined his eyes upon the ground; when this train was gone by, the son of Psammenitus, with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, were made to walk in procession, with ropes round their necks, and bridles in their mouths. These were intended to avenge the death of those Mitylenians who, with their vessel, had been torn to pieces at Memphis. The king's counsellors had determined that for every one put to death on that occasion, ten of the highest rank of the Egyptians should be sacrificed. Psammenitus observed these as they passed, but although he perceived that his son was going to be executed, and whilst all the Egyptians around him wept and lamented aloud, he continued unmoved as before. When this scene also disappeared, he beheld a venerable personage, who had formerly partaken of the royal table, deprived of all he had possessed, and in the dress of a mendicant asking charity through the different ranks of the army. This man stopped to beg an alms of Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and of the other noble Egyptians who were sitting with him; which when Psammenitus beheld, he could no longer suppress his emotions, but calling on his friend by name, wept aloud, and beat his head. This the spies who were placed near him to observe his conduct on each incident, reported to Cambyzes; who, in astonishment at such behaviour, sent a messenger, who was thus directed to address him, "Your lord and master, Cambyzes, is desirous

“to know why, after beholding with so much indifference your daughter treated as a slave, and your son conducted to death, you expressed so lively a concern for that mendicant, who, as he has been informed, is not at all related to you?” Psammenitus made this reply: “Son of Cyrus, my domestic misfortunes were too great to suffer me to shed tears; but it was consistent that I should weep for my friend, who, from a station of honour and of wealth, is in the last stage of life reduced to penury.” Cambyzes heard and was satisfied with his answer. The Egyptians say that Cræsus, who attended Cambyzes in this Egyptian expedition, wept at the incident. The Persians also who were present were exceedingly moved, and Cambyzes himself yielded so far to compassion, that he ordered the son of Psammenitus to be preserved out of those who had been condemned to die, and Psammenitus himself to be conducted from the place where he was, to his presence.

XV. The emissaries employed for the purpose found the young prince had suffered first, and was already dead; the father, they led to Cambyzes, with whom he afterwards lived, and received no further ill-treatment; and, could he have refrained from ambitious attempts, would probably have been intrusted with the government of Egypt. The Persians hold the sons of sovereigns in the greatest reverence, and even if the fathers revolt, they will permit the sons to succeed to their authority; that such is really their conduct, may be proved by various examples. Thannyras, the son of Inarus, received the kingdom which his father governed; Pausiris also, the son of Amyrtæus, was permitted to reign after his father, although the Persians had never met with more obstinate enemies than both Inarus and Amyrtæus. Psammenitus revolted, and suffered for his offence: he was detected in stirring up the Egyptians to rebel; and being convicted by Cambyzes, was made to drink a quantity of bullock’s blood, which immediately occasioned his death. Such was the end of Psammenitus.

XVI. From Sais, Cambyses proceeded to Memphis, to execute a purpose he had in view. As soon as he entered the palace of Amasis, he ordered the body of that prince to be removed from his tomb. When this was done, he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression; when therefore they were fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned. In this last act, Cambyses paid no regard to the religion of his country, for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity. The custom of burning the dead does not prevail in either of the two nations; for the reason above mentioned, the Persians do not use it, thinking it profane to feed a divinity with human carcasses; and the Egyptians abhor it, being fully persuaded that fire is a voracious animal, which devours whatever it can seize, and when saturated, finally expires with what it has consumed. They hold it unlawful to expose the bodies of the dead to any animals, for which reason they embalm them, fearing lest, after interment, they might become the prey of worms. The Egyptians assert, that the above indignities were not inflicted upon the body of Amasis, but that the Persians were deceived, and perpetrated these insults on some other Egyptian of the same age with that prince. Amasis, they say, was informed by an oracle of the injuries intended against his body, to prevent which he ordered the person who really sustained them, to be buried at the entrance of his tomb, whilst he himself, by his own directions given to his son, was placed in some secret and interior recess of the sepulchre. These assertions I cannot altogether believe, and am rather inclined to impute them to the vanity of the Egyptians.

XVII. Cambyses afterwards determined to commence hostilities against three nations at once, the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya which lies towards the southern ocean. He accordingly resolved to send against the Carthaginians a naval

armament; a detachment of his troops was to attack the Ammonians by land; and he sent spies into Ethiopia, who, under pretence of carrying presents to the prince, were to ascertain the reality of the celebrated table of the sun, and to examine the condition of the country.

XVIII. What they called the table of the sun was this:—A plain in the vicinity of the city was filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates; during the day, whoever pleased was at liberty to go and satisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth spontaneously produces all these viands: this, however, is what they term the table of the sun.

XIX. As soon as Cambyzes had resolved on the measures he meant to pursue, with respect to the Ethiopians, he sent to the city of Elephantine for some of the Ichthyophagi who were skilled in their language. In the mean time he directed his naval forces to proceed against the Carthaginians; but the Phœnicians refused to assist him in this purpose, pleading the solemnity of their engagements with that people, and the impiety of committing acts of violence against their own descendants. Such was the conduct of the Phœnicians, and the other armaments were not powerful enough to proceed. Thus, therefore, the Carthaginians escaped being made tributary to Persia, for Cambyzes did not choose to use compulsion with the Phœnicians, who had voluntarily become his dependants, and who constituted the most essential part of his naval power. The Cyprians had also submitted without contest to the Persians, and had served in the Egyptian expedition.

XX. As soon as the Ichthyophagi arrived from Elephantine, Cambyzes despatched them to Ethiopia. They were commissioned to deliver, with certain presents, a particular message to the prince. The presents consisted of a purple vest, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaster box of perfumes, and a cask of palm wine. The Ethiopians to whom Cambyzes

sent, are reported to be superior to all other men in the perfections of size and beauty: their manners and customs, which differ also from those of all other nations, have, besides, this singular distinction; the supreme authority is given to him who excels all his fellow-citizens in size and proportionable strength.

XXI. The Ichthyophagi on their arrival offered the presents, and thus addressed the king: "Cambyses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious desire of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us to communicate with you, and to desire your acceptance of these presents, from the use of which he himself derives the greatest pleasure." The Ethiopian prince, who was aware of the object they had in view, made them this answer:—"The king of Persia has not sent you with these presents, from any desire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you speak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjust designs of your master, are come to examine the state of my dominions: if he were influenced by principles of integrity, he would be satisfied with his own, and not covet the possessions of another; nor would he attempt to reduce those to servitude from whom he has received no injury. Give him therefore this bow, and in my name speak to him thus: The king of Ethiopia sends this counsel to the king of Persia—when his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then with a superiority of numbers he may venture to attack the Macrobian Ethiopians. In the mean time let him be thankful to the gods, that the Ethiopians have not been inspired with the same ambitious views of extending their possessions."

XXII. When he had finished, he unbent the bow, and placed it in their hands; after which, taking the purple vest, he inquired what it was, and how it was made: the Ichthyophagi properly explained to him the process by which the purple tincture was communicated; but he told them that they and their vests were alike deceitful. He then made similar inquiries concerning the bracelets and the gold chains for the neck: upon their describing the nature of those ornaments,

he laughed, and conceiving them to be chains, remarked, that the Ethiopians possessed much stronger. He proceeded lastly to ask them the use of the perfumes; and when they informed him how they were made and applied, he made the same observation as he had before done of the purple robe. When he came to the wine, and learned how it was made, he drank it with particular satisfaction; and inquired upon what food the Persian monarch subsisted, and what was the longest period of a Persian's life. The king, they told him, lived chiefly upon bread; and they then described to him the properties of corn: they added, that the longest period of life in Persia was about eighty years. "I am not at all surprised," said the Ethiopian prince, "that, subsisting on dung, the term of life is so short among them; and unless," he continued, pointing to the wine, "they mixed it with this liquor, they would not live so long:" for in this he allowed they excelled the Ethiopians.

XXIII. The Ichthyophagi in their turn questioned the prince concerning the duration of life in Ethiopia, and the kind of food there in use: They were told, that the majority of the people lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years, but that some exceeded even that period; that their meat was baked flesh, their drink milk. When the spies expressed astonishment at the length of life in Ethiopia, they were conducted to a certain fountain, in which having bathed, they became shining as if anointed with oil, and emitted from their bodies the perfume of violets. But they asserted that the water of this fountain was of so unsubstantial a nature, that neither wood, nor any thing still lighter than wood, would float upon its surface, but every thing instantly sunk to the bottom. If their representation of this water was true, the constant use of it may probably explain the extreme length of life which the Ethiopians attain. From the fountain they were conducted to the public prison, where all that were confined were secured by chains of gold; for among these Ethiopians, brass is the rarest of all the metals. After visiting the prison, they saw also what is called the table of the sun.

XXIV. Finally they were shown the Ethiopian coffins, which are said to be constructed of crystal, and in this manner:—After all the moisture is exhausted from the body, by the Egyptian or some other process, they cover it totally with a kind of plaster, which they adorn with various colours, and make it exhibit as near a resemblance as may be, of the person of the deceased. They then inclose it in a hollow pillar of crystal, which is dug up in great abundance, and of a kind that is easily worked. The deceased is very conspicuous through the crystal, has no disagreeable smell, nor any thing else that is offensive. The nearest relations keep this coffin for a twelve-month in their houses, offering before it different kinds of victims, and the first-fruits of their lands; these are afterwards removed and set up round the city.

XXV. The spies, after executing their commission, returned; and Cambyes was so exasperated at their recital, that he determined instantly to proceed against the Ethiopians, without ever providing for the necessary sustenance of his army, or reflecting that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth. The moment that he heard the report of the Ichthyophagi, like one deprived of all the powers of reason, he commenced his march with the whole body of his infantry, leaving no forces behind but such Greeks as had accompanied him to Egypt. On his arrival at Thebes, he selected from his army about fifty thousand men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the Ammonians, and to burn the place from whence the oracles of Jupiter were delivered: he himself, with the remainder of his troops, marched against the Ethiopians. Before he had performed a fifth part of his intended expedition, the provisions he had with him were totally consumed. They proceeded to eat the beasts which carried the baggage, till these also failed. If after these incidents Cambyes had permitted his passions to cool, and had led his army back again, notwithstanding his indiscretion, he still might have deserved praise. Instead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. The soldiers, as long as the earth afforded them any suste-

nance, were content to feed on vegetables; but as soon as they arrived among the sands and the deserts, some of them were prompted by famine to proceed to the most horrid extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest. When Cambyzes received intelligence of this fact, alarmed at the idea of his troops devouring one another, he abandoned his designs upon the Ethiopians, and returning homeward arrived at length at Thebes, after losing a considerable number of his men. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.—Such was the termination of the Ethiopian expedition.

XXVI. The troops who were despatched against the Ammonians left Thebes with guides, and penetrated, as it should seem, as far as Oasis. This place is distant from Thebes about a seven days' journey over the sands, and is said to be inhabited by Samians, of the Æschryonian tribe. The country is called, in Greek, "The happy Islands." The army is reported to have proceeded thus far; but what afterwards became of them it is impossible to know, except from the Ammonians, or from those whom the Ammonians have instructed on this head. It is certain that they never arrived among the Ammonians, and that they never returned. The Ammonians affirm, that as they were marching forwards from Oasis through the sands, they halted at some place of middle distance, for the purpose of taking repast, which whilst they were doing, a strong south wind arose, and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of sand, so that they were seen no more. Such, as the Ammonians relate, was the fate of this army.

XXVII. Soon after the return of Cambyzes to Memphis, the god Apis appeared, called by the Greeks Epaphus. Upon this occasion the Egyptians clothed themselves in their richest apparel, and made great rejoicings. Cambyzes took notice of this, and imagined it was done on account of his late unfortunate projects. He ordered, therefore, the magistrates of Memphis to attend him; and he asked them why they had done nothing of this kind when he was formerly

at Memphis, and had only made rejoicings now that he had returned with the loss of so many of his troops. They told him that their deity had appeared to them, which after a long absence it was his custom to do; and that when this happened, it was customary for all the Egyptians to hold a solemn festival. Cambyzes disbelieved what they told him, and condemned them to death, as guilty of falsehood.

XXVIII. As soon as they were executed, he sent for the priests, from whom he received the same answer: "If," said he, "any deity has shown himself familiarly in Egypt, I must see and know him." He then commanded them to bring Apis before him, which they prepared to do. This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow which can have no more young. The Egyptians say, that on this occasion the cow is struck with lightning, from which she conceives and brings forth Apis. The young one so produced, and thus named, is known by certain marks: The skin is black, but on its forehead is a white star of a triangular form. It has the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail is divided, and under the tongue it has an insect like a beetle.

XXIX. When the priests conducted Apis to his presence, Cambyzes was transported with rage. He drew his dagger, and endeavouring to stab him in the belly, wounded him in the thigh; then turning to the priests with an insulting smile, "Wretches," he exclaimed, "think ye that gods are formed of flesh and blood, and thus susceptible of wounds? This, indeed, is a deity worthy of Egyptians: but you shall find that I am not to be mocked with impunity." He then called the proper officers, and commanded the priests to be scourged: he directed also that whatever Egyptian was found celebrating this festival, should be put to death. The priests were thus punished, and no further solemnities observed. Apis himself languished and died in the temple, from the wound of his thigh, and was buried by the priests without the knowledge of Cambyzes.

XXX. The Egyptians affirm, that in consequence of this impiety, Cambyzes became immediately mad,

who indeed did not before appear to have had the proper use of his reason. The first impulse of his fury, was directed against Smerdis, his own brother; who had become the object of his jealousy, because he was the only Persian who had been able to bend the bow, which the Ichthyophagi brought from Ethiopia, the breadth of two fingers. He was therefore ordered to return to Persia, where as soon as he arrived, Cambyzes saw this vision: a messenger appeared to arrive from Persia, informing him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Cambyzes was instantly struck with the apprehension that Smerdis would kill him, and seize his dominions; to prevent which he despatched Prexaspes, a Persian, and one of his most faithful adherents, to put him to death. He arrived at Susa, and destroyed Smerdis, some say, by taking him aside whilst engaged in the diversion of the chase; others believed that he drowned him in the Red Sea; this, however, was the commencement of the calamities of Cambyzes.

XXXI. The next victim of his fury was his sister, who had accompanied him to Egypt. She was also his wife, which thing he thus accomplished: before this prince, no Persian had ever been known to marry his sister; but Cambyzes, being passionately fond of one of his, and knowing that there was no precedent to justify his making her his wife, assembled those who were called the royal judges; of them, he desired to know whether there was any law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, if he thought proper to do so. The royal judges in Persia are men of the most approved integrity, who hold their places for life, or till they shall be convicted of some crime. Every thing is referred to their decision; they are the interpreters of the laws, and determine all private disputes. In answer to the inquiry of Cambyzes, they replied shrewdly, though with truth, that although they could find no law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, they had discovered one which enabled a monarch of Persia to do what he pleased. In this answer, the awe of Cambyzes prevented their

adopting literally the spirit of the Persian laws; and to secure their persons, they took care to discover what would justify him, who wished to marry his sister. Cambyzes, therefore, instantly married the sister whom he loved, and not long afterwards a second. The younger of these, who accompanied him to Egypt, he put to death.

XXXII. The manner of her death, like that of Smerdis, is differently related. The Greeks say that Cambyzes made the cub of a lioness and a young whelp engage each other, and that this princess was present at the combat; when this latter was vanquished, another whelp of the same litter broke what confined it, and flew to assist the other, and that both together were too much for the young lion. Cambyzes seeing this, expressed great satisfaction; but the princess burst into tears. Cambyzes observed her weep, and inquired the reason; she answered, that seeing one whelp assist another of the same brood, she could not but remember Smerdis, whose death she feared nobody would revenge. For which saying, the Greeks affirm, that Cambyzes put her to death. On the contrary, if we may believe the Egyptians, this princess was sitting at table with her husband, and took a lettuce in her hand, dividing it leaf by leaf: "Which," said she, "seems in your eyes most agreeable, this lettuce whole, or divided into leaves?" He replied, "When whole." "You," says she, "resemble this lettuce, as I have divided it, for you have thus torn in sunder the house of Cyrus." Cambyzes was so greatly incensed, that he threw her down, and leaped upon her; and being pregnant, she was delivered before her time, and lost her life.

XXXIII. To such excesses in his own family was Cambyzes impelled, either on account of his impious treatment of Apis, or from some other of those numerous calamities which afflict mankind. From the first hour of his birth, he laboured under what by some is termed the sacred disease. It is, therefore, by no means astonishing that so great a bodily infirmity should at length injure the mind..

XXXIV. His phrensy, however, extended to the

other Persians. He once made a remarkable speech to Prexaspes, for whom he professed the greatest regard, who received all petitions to the king, and whose son enjoyed the honourable office of royal cup-bearer. "What," says he, upon some occasion, "do the Persians think of me, or in what terms do they speak of me?" "Sir," he replied, "in all other respects they speak of you with honour; but it is the general opinion that you are too much addicted to wine." "What?" returned the prince in anger, "I suppose they say that I drink to excess, and am deprived of reason; their former praise, therefore, could not be sincere." At some preceding period, he had asked of those whom he used most familiarly, and of Cræsus among the rest, whether they thought he had equalled the greatness of his father Cyrus. In reply they told him, that he was the greater of the two, for that to all which Cyrus had possessed, he had added the empire of Egypt and of the ocean. Cræsus, who was present, did not assent to this. "Sir," said he to Cambyzes, "in my opinion you are not equal to your father; you have not such a son as he left behind him." Which speech of Cræsus was highly agreeable to Cambyzes.

XXXV. Remembering this, he turned with great anger to Prexaspes: "You," said he, "shall presently be witness of the truth or falsehood of what the Persians say. If I hit directly through the heart your son, who stands yonder, it will be evident that they speak of me maliciously; if I miss my aim, they will say true in affirming that I am mad." No sooner had he spoken, than he bent his bow, and struck the young man. When he fell, the king ordered his body to be opened, and the wound to be examined. He was rejoiced to find that the arrow had penetrated his heart; and turning to the father with a malicious smile, "You observe," said he, "that it is not I that am mad, but the Persians who are foolish. Tell me," he continued, "if you ever saw a man send an arrow surer to its mark?" Prexaspes, seeing he was mad, and fearing for himself, replied, "I do not think, Sir, that even the deity could have aimed so well."

Such was his treatment of Prexaspes. At another time, without the smallest provocation, he commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be buried alive.

XXXVI. Whilst he was pursuing these extravagancies, Cræsus gave him this advice: "Do not, Sir, yield thus intemperately to the warmth of your age and of your temper. Restrain yourself, and remember that moderation is the part of a wise man, and it becomes every one to weigh the consequences of his actions. Without any adequate offence you destroy your fellow-citizens, and put even children to death. If you continue these excesses, the Persians may be induced to revolt from you. In giving you these admonitions, I do but fulfil the injunctions which the king your father repeatedly laid upon me, to warn you of whatever I thought necessary to your welfare." Kind as were the intentions of Cræsus, he received this answer from Cambyses: "I am astonished at your presumption in speaking to me thus, as if you had been remarkable either for the judicious government of your own dominions, or for the wise advice which you gave my father. I cannot forget that, instead of waiting for the attack of the Massagetæ, you counselled him to advance and encounter them in their own territories. By your misconduct you lost your own dominions, and by your ill advice were the cause of my father's ruin. But do not expect to escape with impunity; indeed I have long wished for an opportunity to punish you," He then eagerly snatched his bow, intending to pierce Cræsus with an arrow, but by an expeditious flight he escaped. Cambyses instantly ordered him to be seized and put to death; but as his officers were well acquainted with their prince's character, they concealed Cræsus, thinking that if at any future period he should show contrition, they might by producing him obtain a reward; but if no farther inquiries were made concerning him, they might then kill him. Not long afterwards Cambyses expressed regret for Cræsus, which when his attendants perceived, they told him that he was alive. He demonstrated particular satisfaction at the preserva-

tion of Cræsus, but he would not forgive the disobedience of his servants, who were accordingly executed.

XXXVII. He perpetrated many things of this kind against the Persians and his allies, whilst he stayed at Memphis: neither did he hesitate to violate the tombs, and examine the bodies of the dead. He once entered the temple of Vulcan, and treated the shrine of that deity with much contempt. The statue of this god exceedingly resembles the Pataici, which the Phœnicians place at the prow of their triremes: they who have not seen them, may suppose them to resemble the figure of a pigmy. Cambyzes also entered the temple of the Cabiri, to which access is denied to all but the priests. He burned their statues, after exercising upon them his wit and raillery. These statues resemble Vulcan, whose sons the Cabiri are supposed to be.

XXXVIII. For my own part, I am satisfied that Cambyzes was deprived of his reason; he would not otherwise have disturbed the sanctity of temples, or of established customs. Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their own observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed the best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent; no one, therefore, but a madman, would treat such prejudices with contempt. That all men are really thus tenacious of their own customs, appears from this, amongst other instances: Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they replied that no sum could prevail on them to commit such a deed. In the presence of the same Greeks, who by an interpreter were informed of what passed, he sent also for the Callatiæ, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and entreated him to forbear such language. Such is the force of custom; and Pindar

seems to me to have spoken with peculiar propriety, when he observed that custom was the universal sovereign.

XXXIX. Whilst Cambyses was engaged in his Egyptian expedition, the Lacedæmonians were prosecuting a war against Polycrates, the son of Æaces, who had forcibly possessed himself of Samos. He had divided it into three parts, assigning one to each of his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloson. He afterwards, having killed Pantagnotus, and banished Syloson, who was the younger, seized the whole. Whilst he was thus circumstanced, he made a treaty of alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt, which was cemented by various presents on both sides. His fame had so increased, that he was celebrated through Ionia and the rest of Greece. Success attended all his military undertakings; he had a hundred fifty-oared vessels, and a thousand archers. He made no discrimination in the objects of his attacks, thinking that he conferred a greater favour even on a friend, by restoring what he had violently taken, than by not molesting him at all. He took a great number of islands, and became master of several cities on the continent. The Lesbians, who with all their forces were proceeding to assist the Milesians, he attacked and conquered in a great sea-fight. Those whom he made prisoners he put in chains, and compelled to sink the trench which surrounds the walls of Samos.

XL. The great prosperity of Polycrates excited both the attention and anxiety of Amasis. As his success continually increased, he was induced to write and send this letter to Samos:

“AMASIS TO POLYCRATES.

“THE success of a friend and an ally fills me with particular satisfaction; but as I know the invidiousness of fortune, your extraordinary prosperity excites my apprehensions. If I might determine for myself, and for those whom I regard, I would rather have my affairs sometimes flattering, and sometimes perverse. I would wish to pass through life with the alternate experience of good and evil, rather than

“with uninterrupted good fortune. I do not remember to have heard of any man remarkable for a constant succession of prosperous events, whose end has not been finally calamitous. If, therefore, you value my counsel, you will provide this remedy against the excess of your prosperity:—Examine well what thing it is which you deem of the highest consequence to your happiness, and the loss of which would most afflict you. When you shall have ascertained this, banish it from you, so that there may be no possibility of its return. If after this, your good fortune shall still continue without diminution or change, you will do well to repeat the remedy I propose.”

XLII. Polycrates received this letter, and seriously deliberated on its contents. The advice of Amasis appeared sagacious, and he resolved to follow it. He accordingly searched among his treasures for something, the loss of which would most afflict him. He conceived this to be a seal-ring, which he occasionally wore; it was an emerald set in gold, and the workmanship of Theodorus the Samian, the son of Telecles. Determining to deprive himself of this, he embarked in a fifty-oared vessel, with orders to be carried into the open sea: when he was at some distance from the island, in the presence of all his attendants, he took the ring from his finger and cast it into the sea; having done this, he sailed back again.

XLIII. Returning home, he regretted his loss; but in the course of five or six days this accident occurred:—A fisherman caught a fish of such size and beauty, that he deemed it a proper present for Polycrates. He went therefore to the palace, and demanded an audience; being admitted, he presented his fish to Polycrates, with these words: “Although, sir, I live by the produce of my industry, I could not think of exposing this fish, which I have taken, to sale in the market-place, believing it worthy of you to accept, which I hope you will.” The king was much gratified, and made him this reply: “My good friend, your present and your speech are equally acceptable to me; and I beg that I may see you at

"supper." The fisherman, delighted with his reception, returned to his house. The servants proceeding to open the fish, found in its paunch the ring of Polycrates; with great eagerness and joy, they hastened to carry it to the king, telling him where they had met with it. Polycrates concluded that this incident bore evident marks of divine interposition; he therefore wrote down every particular of what had happened, and transmitted it to Egypt.

XLIII. Amasis, after perusing the letter of his friend, was convinced that it was impossible for one mortal to deliver another from the destiny which awaited him; he was satisfied that Polycrates could not terminate his days in tranquillity, whose good fortune had never suffered interruption, and who had even recovered what he had taken pains to lose. He sent therefore a herald to Samos, to disclaim all future connexion; his motive for doing which, was the apprehension, that in any future calamity which might befall Polycrates, he, as a friend and ally, might be obliged to bear a part.

XLIV. Against this Polycrates, in all things so prosperous, the Lacedæmonians undertook an expedition, to which they were induced by those Samians who afterwards built the city of Cydon in Crete. To counteract this blow, Polycrates sent privately to Cambyses, who was then preparing for hostilities against Egypt, entreating him to demand supplies and assistance of the Samians. With this Cambyses willingly complied, and sent to solicit, in favour of Polycrates, some naval force to serve in his Egyptian expedition. The Samian prince selected those from the rest whose principles and intentions he most suspected, and sent them in forty triremes to Cambyses, requesting him by all means to prevent their return.

XLV. There are some who assert, that the Samians sent by Polycrates, never arrived in Egypt, but that as soon as they reached the Carpathian sea they consulted together, and determined to proceed no further. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that they did arrive in Egypt, but that they escaped from their guards, and returned to Samos: they add, that Poly-

crates met and engaged them at sea, where he was defeated; but that, landing afterwards on the island, they had a second engagement by land, in which they were totally routed, and obliged to fly to Lacedæmon. They who assert that the Samians returned from Egypt, and obtained a victory over Polycrates, are in my opinion mistaken; for if their own force was sufficient to overcome him, there was no necessity for their applying to the Lacedæmonians for assistance. Neither is it at all consistent with probability, that a prince who had so many forces under his command, composed as well of foreign auxiliaries as of archers of his own, could possibly be overcome by the few Samians who were returning home. Polycrates, moreover, had in his power the wives and children of his Samian subjects: these were all assembled and confined in his different harbours; and he was determined to destroy them by fire, and the harbours along with them, in case of any treasonable conjunction between the inhabitants and the Samians who were returning.

XLVI. The Samians who were expelled by Polycrates, immediately on their arrival at Sparta, obtained an audience of the magistrates, and spoke a great while in the language of suppliants. The answer which they first received informed them, that the commencement of their discourse was not remembered, and the conclusion not understood. At the second interview they simply produced a leathern bag, and complained that it contained no bread; even to this, the Lacedæmonians replied, that their observation was unnecessary;—they determined nevertheless to assist them.

XLVII. After the necessary preparations, the Lacedæmonians embarked with an army against Samos: if the Samians may be credited, the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in this business was the effect of gratitude, they themselves having formerly received a supply of ships against the Messenians. But the Lacedæmonians assert, that they engaged in this expedition not so much to satisfy the wishes of those Samians who had sought their assistance, as to ob-

tain satisfaction for an injury which they had formerly received. The Samians had violently taken away a goblet which the Lacedæmonians were carrying to Cræsus, and a corselet, which was given them by Amasis, king of Egypt. This latter incident took place at the interval of a year after the former: the corselet was made of linen, but there were interwoven in the piece, a great number of animals richly embroidered with cotton and gold; every part of it deserved admiration: it was composed of chains, each of which contained three hundred and sixty threads distinctly visible. Amasis presented another corselet, entirely resembling this, to the Minerva of Lindus.

XLVIII. To this expedition against Samos, the Corinthians also contributed, with considerable ardour. In the age which preceded, and about the time in which the goblet had been taken, this people had been insulted by the Samians. Periander, the son of Cypselus, had sent to Alyattes, at Sardis, three hundred children of the principal families of the Corcyreans, to be made eunuchs. They were intrusted to the care of certain Corinthians, who, by distress of weather, were compelled to touch at Samos. The Samians soon learned the purpose of the expedition, and accordingly instructed the children to fly for protection to the temple of Diana, from whence they would not suffer the Corinthians to take them. But as the Corinthians prevented their receiving any food, the Samians instituted a festival on the occasion, which they yet observe. At the approach of night, and as long as the children continued as suppliants in the temple, they introduced a company of youths and virgins, who, in a kind of religious dance, were to carry cakes made of honey and flour in their hands. This was done that the young Corcyreans, by snatching them away, might satisfy their hunger, and was repeated till the Corinthians who guarded the children departed. The Samians afterwards sent the children back to Corcyra.

XLIX. If after the death of Periander, there had existed any friendship betwixt the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, it might be supposed that they would

not have assisted in this expedition against Samos. But notwithstanding these people had the same origin (the Corinthians having built Corcyra) they had always lived in a state of enmity. The Corinthians, therefore, did not forget the affront which they had received at Samos; and it was in resentment of injuries formerly received from the Corcyreans, that Periander had sent to Sardis these three hundred youths of the first families of Corcyra, with the intention of their being made eunuchs.

L. When Periander had put his wife Melissa to death, he was involved in an additional calamity. By Melissa he had two sons, one of whom was seventeen, the other eighteen years old: Procles, their grandfather by the mother's side, had sent for them to Epidaurus, of which place he was prince; and had treated them with all the kindness due to the children of his daughter. At the time appointed for their departure, he took them aside, and asked them if they knew who had killed their mother. To these words the elder brother paid no attention; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, took it so exceedingly to heart, that at his return to Corinth he would neither salute his father, converse with, nor answer him; in indignation at which behaviour, Periander banished him his house.

LI. After the above event, Periander asked his elder son, what their grandfather had said to them. The youth informed him, that their grandfather had received them very affectionately, but as he did not remember, he could not relate the words he had used to them at parting. The father, however, continued to press him; saying, it was impossible that their grandfather should dismiss them without some advice. This induced the young man more seriously to reflect on what had passed; and he afterwards informed his father of every particular. Upon this, Periander was determined not at all to relax from his severity, but immediately sent to those who had received his son under their protection, commanding them to dismiss him. Lycophron was thus driven from one place to another, and from thence to a third, and from this last

also the severity of Periander expelled him. Yet, fearful as people were to entertain him, he still found an asylum, from the consideration of his being the son of Periander.

LII. Periander at length commanded it to be publicly proclaimed, that whoever harboured his son, or held any conversation with him, should pay a stipulated fine for the use of Apollo's temple. After this no person presumed either to receive or converse with him, and Lycophron himself acquiesced in the conjunction, by retiring to the public portico. On the fourth day, Periander himself observed him in this situation, covered with filth and perishing with hunger: his heart relenting, he approached, and thus addressed him: "My son, which do you think preferable, your present extremity of distress, or to return to your obedience, and share with me my authority and riches? You who are my son, and a prince of the happy Corinth, choose the life of a mendicant, and persevere in irritating him, who has the strongest claims upon your duty. If the incident which induces you to think unfavourably of my conduct, has any evil resulting from it, the whole is fallen upon myself; and I feel it the more sensibly, from the reflection that I was myself the author of it. Experience has taught you how much better it is to be envied than pitied, and how dangerous it is to provoke a superior and a parent—return therefore to my house." To this speech Periander received no other answer from his son, than that he himself, by conversing with him, had incurred the penalty which his edict had imposed. The king, perceiving the perverseness of his son to be immutable, determined to remove him from his sight; he therefore sent him in a vessel to Corcyra, which place also belonged to him. After this, Periander made war upon his father-in-law Procles, whom he considered as the principal occasion of what had happened. He made himself master of Epidaurus, and took Procles prisoner, whom nevertheless he preserved alive.

LIII. In process of time, as Periander advanced in years, he began to feel himself inadequate to the cares

of government; he sent therefore for Lycophron to Corcyra, to take upon him the administration of affairs: his eldest son appeared improper for such a station, and was indeed dull and stupid. Lycophron disdained to take the smallest notice of the messenger who brought him this intelligence. But Periander, as he felt his affection for the young man to be unalterable, sent his sister to him, thinking her interposition most likely to succeed. When she saw him, "Brother," said she, "will you suffer the sovereign authority to pass into other hands, and the riches of our family to be dispersed, rather than return to enjoy them yourself? Let me entreat you to punish yourself no more; return to your country and your family: obstinacy like yours is but an unwelcome guest, it only adds one evil to another. Pity is by many preferred to justice; and many, from their anxiety to fulfil their duty to a mother, have violated that which a father might expect. Power, which many so assiduously court, is in its nature precarious. Your father is growing old; do not therefore resign to others, honours which are properly your own." Thus instructed by her father, she used every argument likely to influence her brother; but he briefly answered, "that as long as his father lived, he would not return to Corinth." When she had communicated this answer to Periander, he sent a third messenger to his son, informing him, that it was his intention to retire to Corcyra; but that Lycophron might return to Corinth, and take possession of the supreme authority. This proposition was accepted, and Periander prepared to depart for Corcyra, the young man for Corinth. But when the Corcyreans were informed of the business, to prevent the arrival of Periander among them, they put his son to death. This was what induced that prince to take vengeance on the Corcyreans.

LIV. The Lacedæmonians arriving with a powerful fleet, laid siege to Samos, and advancing towards the walls, they passed by a tower which stands in the suburbs, not far from the sea. At this juncture Polycrates attacked them, at the head of a considerable

force, and compelled them to retreat. He was instantly seconded by a band of auxiliaries, and a great number of Samians, who falling upon the enemy from a fort which was behind the mountain, after a short conflict effectually routed them, and continued the pursuit with great slaughter of the Lacedæmonians.

LV. -If all the Lacedæmonians had behaved in this engagement like Archias and Lycopas, Samos must certainly have been taken; for these two alone entered the city, with those Samians who sought security within the walls, and having no means of retreat were there slain. I myself one day met with a person of the same name, who was the son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias above mentioned; I saw him at Pitane, of which place he was a native. This person paid more attention to Samians than to other foreigners; and he told me, that his father was called Samius, as being the immediate descendant of him, who with so much honour had lost his life at Samos. The reason of his thus distinguishing the Samians was, because they had honoured his grandfather by a public funeral.

LVI. The Lacedæmonians, after remaining forty days before the place without any advantage, returned to the Peloponnese. It is reported, though most absurdly, that Polycrates struck off a great number of pieces of lead cased with gold, like the coin of the country, and that with these he purchased their departure.—This was the first expedition of the Dorians of Lacedæmon into Asia.

LVII. Those Samians who had taken up arms against Polycrates, when they saw themselves forsaken by the Lacedæmonians, and were distressed from want of money, embarked for Siphnos. At this time the power of the Siphnians was very considerable, and they were the richest of all the inhabitants of the islands. Their soil produced both the gold and silver metals in such abundance, that from a tenth part of their revenues, they had a treasury at Delphi, equal in value to the richest which that temple possessed. Every year they made an equal distribution among themselves, of the value of their mines: whilst

their wealth was thus accumulating, they consulted the oracle, to know whether they should long continue in the enjoyment of their present good fortune. From the Pythian they received this answer:

When Siphnos shall a milk white senate show,
And all her market wear a front of snow;
Him let her prize whose wit suspects the most,
A scarlet envoy from a wooden host.

At this period the prytaneum, and the forum of Siphnos, were adorned with Parian marble.

LVIII. This reply of the oracle, the Siphnians were unable to comprehend, both before and after the arrival of the Samians. As soon as the Samians touched at Siphnos, they despatched a messenger to the town, in one of their vessels. According to the ancient custom, all ships were painted of a red colour; and it was this which induced the Pythian, to warn the Siphnians against a wooden snare, and a red ambassador. On their arrival, the Samian ambassadors entreated the inhabitants to lend them ten talents: on being refused, they plundered the country. The Siphnians hearing of this, collected their forces, and were defeated in a regular engagement; a great number were, in the retreat, cut off from the town, and the Samians afterwards exacted from them a hundred talents.

LIX. Instead of money, the Samians had received of the Hermionians, the island of Thyrea, adjacent to the Peloponnese: this they afterwards gave as a pledge to the Træzenians. They afterwards made a voyage to Crete, where they built Cydonia, although their object in going there, was to expel the Zacynthians. In this place they continued five years, during which period they were so exceedingly prosperous, that they not only erected all those temples which are now seen in Cydonia, but built also the temple of Dictynna. In the sixth year, from a junction being made with the Cretans by the Æginetæ, they were totally vanquished in a sea engagement, and reduced to servitude. The prows of their vessels were taken away and defaced, and afterwards suspended in the temple of Minerva at Ægina. The Æginetæ were

impelled to this conduct towards the Samians, in resentment of a former injury. When Amphicrates reigned at Samos, he had carried on a war against the *Æginetæ*, by which they materially suffered; this, however, they severely retaliated.

LX. I have been thus particular in my account of the Samians, because this people produced the greatest monuments of art which are to be seen in Greece. They have a mountain which is one hundred and fifty *orgyie* in height; they have made a passage entirely through this, the length of which is seven *stadia*, it is moreover eight feet high, and as many wide. By the side of this there is also an artificial canal, which in like manner goes quite through the mountain, and though only three feet in breadth, is twenty cubits deep. This, by the means of pipes, conveys to the city the waters of a copious spring. This is their first work, and constructed by Eupalinus, the son of Naustrophus, an inhabitant of Megara. Their second is a mole, which projects from the harbour into the sea, and is two *stadia* or more in length, and about twenty *orgyie* in height. Their last performance was a temple, which exceeds in grandeur all that I have seen. This structure was first commenced by a native of the country, whose name was Rhœcus, son of Phileus.

LXI. Whilst Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus, passed his time in Egypt, committing various excesses, two magi, who were brothers, and one of whom Cambyzes had left in Persia as the manager of his domestic concerns, excited a revolt against him. The death of Smerdis, which had been studiously kept secret, and was known to very few of the Persians, who in general believed that he was alive, was a circumstance to which the last mentioned of these magi had been privy, and of which he determined to avail himself. His brother, who, as we have related, joined with him in this business, not only resembled in person, but bore the very name of the young prince, the son of Cyrus, who had been put to death by the order of his brother Cambyzes. This man, Patizithes, the other magus, publicly introduced and placed upon the royal throne, having previously instructed him in the

part he was to perform. Having done this, he sent messengers to different places, and one in particular to the Egyptian army, ordering them to obey Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, alone.

LXII. These orders were every where obeyed. The messenger who came to Egypt found Cambyses with the army, at Ecbatana, in Syria. He entered into the midst of the troops, and executed the commission which had been given him. When Cambyses heard this, he was not aware of any fallacy, but imagined that Prexaspes, whom he had sent to put Smerdis to death, had neglected to obey his commands. "Prexaspes," said the king, "thou hast not fulfilled my orders." "Sir," he replied, "you are certainly deceived; it is impossible that your brother should rebel against you, or occasion you the smallest trouble. I not only executed your orders concerning Smerdis, but I buried him with my own hands. If the dead can rise again, you may expect also a rebellion from Astyages the Mede; but if things go on in their usual course, you can have nothing to apprehend from your brother. I would recommend, therefore, that you send for this herald, and demand by what authority he claims our allegiance to Smerdis."

LXIII. This advice was agreeable to Cambyses; the person of the herald was accordingly seized, and he was thus addressed by Prexaspes: "You say, my friend, that you come from Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but I would advise you to be cautious, as your safety will depend upon your speaking the truth; tell me, therefore, did Smerdis himself intrust you with this commission, or did you receive it from some one of his officers?" "I must confess," replied the herald, "that since the departure of Cambyses on this Egyptian expedition, I have never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. I received my present commission from the magus to whom Cambyses intrusted the management of his domestic affairs; he it was who told me that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, commanded me to execute this business." This was the sincere answer of the herald; upon which, Cambyses thus addressed Prexaspes: "I perceive that, like a man of

"integrity, you performed my commands, and have been guilty of no crime : but what Persian, assuming the name of Smerdis, has revolted against me?" "Sir," answered Prexaspes, "I believe I comprehend the whole of this business: the magi have excited this rebellion against you, namely, Patizithes, to whom you intrusted the management of your household, and Smerdis, his brother."

LXIV. As soon as Cambyses heard the name of Smerdis, he was impressed with a conviction of the truth; and he immediately perceived the real signification of the dream in which he had seen Smerdis seated on the royal throne, and touching the firmament with his head. Acknowledging that he had destroyed his brother without any just cause, he lamented him with tears. After indulging for a while in the extremest sorrow, which a sense of his misfortunes prompted, he leaped hastily upon his horse, determining to lead his army instantly to Susa, against the rebels. In doing this, the sheath fell from his sword, which, being thus naked, wounded him in the thigh. The wound was in the very place in which he had before struck Apis, the deity of the Egyptians. As soon as the blow appeared to be mortal, Cambyses anxiously inquired the name of the place where he was: they told him it was called Ecbatana. An oracle from Buto had warned him that he should end his life at Ecbatana; this he understood of Ecbatana of the Medes, where all his treasures were deposited, and where he conceived he was to die in his old age. The oracle, however, spoke of the Syrian Ecbatana. When he learned the name of the town, the vexation arising from the rebellion of the magus, and the pain of his wound, restored him to his proper senses. "This," he exclaimed, remembering the oracle, "is doubtless the place, in which Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is destined to die."

LXV. On the twentieth day after the above event, he convened the more illustrious of the Persians who were with him, and thus addressed them: "What has happened to me, compels me to disclose to you what I anxiously desired to conceal. Whilst I was in

Egypt, I beheld in my sleep a vision, which I could wish had never appeared to me. A messenger seemed to arrive from home, informing me that Smerdis, sitting on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. It is not in the power of men to counteract destiny; but fearing that my brother would deprive me of my kingdom, I yielded to passion rather than to prudence. Infatuated as I was, I despatched Prexaspes to Susa to put Smerdis to death. After this great crime, I lived with more confidence, believing that, Smerdis being dead, no one else would rise up against me. But my ideas of the future were fallacious; I have murdered my brother, a crime equally unnecessary and atrocious, and am nevertheless deprived of my power. It was Smerdis the magus, whom the divinity pointed out to me in my dream, and who has now taken arms against me. Things being thus circumstanced, it becomes you to remember that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, is actually dead, and that the two magi, one with whom I left the care of my household, and Smerdis his brother, are the men who now claim your obedience. He, whose office it would have been to have revenged on these magi any injuries done to me, has unjustly perished by those who were nearest to him: but since he is no more, I must now tell you, O Persians! what I would have you do when I am dead.—I entreat you all, by those gods who watch over kings, and chiefly you who are of the race of the Achæmenides, that you will never permit this empire to revert to the Medes. If by any stratagem they shall have seized it, by stratagem do you recover it. If they have by force obtained it, do you by force wrest it from them. If you shall obey my advice, may the earth give you its fruits in abundance! may you ever be free, and your wives and your flocks prolific! If you do not obey me, if you neither recover, nor attempt to recover the empire, may the reverse of my wishes befall you, and may every Persian meet a fate like mine!”

LXVI. Cambyzes, having thus spoken, bewailed his misfortunes. When the Persians saw the king thus involved in sorrow, they tore their garments,

and expressed their grief aloud. After a very short interval, the bone became infected, the whole of the thigh mortified, and death ensued. Thus died Cambyses, son of Cyrus, after a reign of seven years and five months, leaving no offspring, male or female. The Persians who were present could not be persuaded that the magi had assumed the supreme authority, but rather believed that what Cambyses had asserted concerning the death of Smerdis, was prompted by his hatred of that prince, and his wish to excite the general animosity of the Persians against him. They were, therefore, generally satisfied that it was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who had assumed the sovereignty. To which they were the more inclined, because Prexaspes afterwards positively denied that he had put Smerdis to death. When Cambyses was dead, he could not safely have confessed that he had killed the son of Cyrus.

LXVII. After the death of Cambyses, the magus, by the favour of his name, pretending to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, reigned in security during the seven months, which completed the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses. In this period he distinguished the various dependants on his power by his great munificence, so that after his death he was seriously regretted by all the inhabitants of Asia, except the Persians. He commenced his reign by publishing every where an edict which exempted his subjects, for the space of three years, both from tribute and military service.

LXVIII. In the eighth month he was detected in the following manner: Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, was of the first rank of the Persians, both with regard to birth and affluence. This nobleman was the first who suspected that this was not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and was induced to suppose who he really was, from his never quitting the citadel, and from his not inviting any of the nobles to his presence. Suspicious of the imposture, he took these measures: He had a daughter named Phædyma, who had been married to Cambyses, and whom, with the other wives of the late king, the usurper had taken to himself. Otanes sent a message to her, to know whether she co-

habited with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or with any other person. She returned for answer, "that she could not tell, as she had never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, nor did she know the person with whom she cohabited." Otanes sent a second time to his daughter: "If," says he, "you do not know the person of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, inquire of Atossa who it is with whom you and she cohabit, for she must necessarily know her brother." To which she thus replied: "I can neither speak to Atossa, nor indeed see any of the women that live with him. Since this person, whoever he is, came to the throne, the women have all been kept separate."

LXIX. This reply more and more justified the suspicions of Otanes; he sent, therefore, a third time to his daughter: "My daughter," he observed, "it becomes you, who are nobly born, to engage in a dangerous enterprise, when your father commands you. If this Smerdis be not the son of Cyrus, but the man whom I suspect, he ought not, possessing your person, and the sovereignty of Persia, to escape with impunity. Do this, therefore—when next you shall be admitted to his bed, and shall observe that he is asleep, examine whether he has any ears; if he has, you may be secure you are with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but if he has not, it can be no other than Smerdis, one of the magi." To this Phædyma replied, "that she would obey him, notwithstanding the danger she incurred; being well assured, that if he had no ears, and should discover her in endeavouring to know this, she should be instantly put to death." Cyrus had in his life-time deprived this Smerdis of his ears for some atrocious crime.

Phædyma complied in all respects with the injunctions of her father. The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns. When this lady next slept with the magus, as soon as she saw him in a profound sleep, she tried to touch his ears, and being perfectly satisfied that he had none, as soon as it was day, she communicated the intelligence to her father.

LXX. Otanes instantly revealed the secret to Aspathines and Gobryas, two of the noblest of the Per-

sians, upon whose fidelity he could depend, and who had themselves suspected the imposture. It was agreed that each should disclose the business to the friend in whom he most confided. Otanes therefore chose Intaphernes; Gobryas, Megabyzus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. The conspirators being thus six in number, Darius, son of Hystaspes, arrived at Susa, from Persia, where his father was governor; when they instantly agreed to make him also an associate.

LXXI. These seven met, and after mutual vows of fidelity, consulted together. As soon as Darius was to speak, he thus addressed his confederates: "I was of opinion that the death of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and the usurpation of the magus, were circumstances known only to myself, and my immediate purpose in coming hither, was to accomplish the usurper's death. But since you are also acquainted with the matter, I think that all delay will be dangerous, and that we should instantly execute our intentions." "Son of Hystaspes," replied Otanes, "born of a noble parent, you seem the inheritor of your father's virtue; nevertheless, be not precipitate, but let us enter on this business with caution: for my own part, I am averse to undertake any thing, till we shall have strengthened our party." "My friends," resumed Darius, "if you follow the advice of Otanes, your ruin is inevitable. The hope of reward will induce some one to betray your designs to the magus. An enterprise like this should be accomplished by yourselves, disdaining all assistance. But since you have revealed the secret, and added me to your party, let us this very day put our designs in execution; for I declare, if this day pass without our fulfilling our intentions, no one shall to-morrow betray me; I will myself disclose the conspiracy to the magus."

LXXII. When Otanes observed the ardour of Darius; "Since," he replied, "you will not suffer us to defer, but precipitate us to the termination of our purpose, explain how we shall obtain entrance into the palace, and attack the usurpers. That there are guards regularly stationed, if you have not seen them

yourself, you must have known from others; how shall we elude these?" "There are many circumstances, Otanes," returned Darius, "which we cannot so well explain by our words as by our actions. There are others which may be made very plausible by words, but are capable of no splendour in the execution. You cannot suppose that it will be difficult for us to pass the guards; who among them will not be impelled by reverence for our persons, or fear of our authority, to admit us? Besides this, I am furnished with an undeniable excuse; I can say that I am just arrived from Persia, and have business from my father with the king. If a falsehood must be spoken, let it be so. They who are sincere, and they who are not, have the same object in view. Falsehood is prompted by views of interest, and the language of truth is dictated by some promised benefit, or by the hope of inspiring confidence. So that, in fact, these are only two different paths to the same end: if no emolument were proposed, the sincere man would be false, and the false man sincere. As to the guards, he who suffers us to pass, shall hereafter be remembered to his advantage; he who opposes us shall be deemed an enemy: let us, therefore, now hasten to the palace, and execute our purpose."

LXXIII. When he had finished, Gobryas spake as follows: "My friends, to recover the empire will indeed be glorious; but if we fail, it will be nobler to die, than for Persians to live in subjection to a Mede, and he too deprived of his ears. You who were present at the last hours of Cambyzes, cannot but remember the imprecations which he uttered against the Persians, if they did not attempt the recovery of the empire. We then refused him attention, thinking him influenced by malignity and resentment; but now I at least second the proposal of Darius, nor would I have this assembly break up, but to proceed instantly against the magus." The sentiments of Gobryas gave universal satisfaction.

LXXIV. During the interval of this consultation, the two magi had together determined to make a friend of Prexaspes: they were aware that he had

been injured by Cambyzes, who had slain his son with an arrow; and that he alone was privy to the death of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, having been his executioner; they were conscious also that he was highly esteemed by the Persians. They accordingly sent for him, and made him the most liberal promises; they made him swear that he would on no account disclose the fallacy which they practised on the Persians; and they promised him, in reward of his fidelity, rewards without number. Prexaspes engaged to comply with their wishes; they then told him of their intention to assemble the Persians beneath the tower which was the royal residence, from whence they desired him to declare aloud that he who then sat on the throne of Persia was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and no other. They were induced to this measure, from a consideration of the great authority of Prexaspes, and because he had frequently declared that he had never put Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, to death, but that he was still alive.

LXXV. Prexaspes agreed to comply with all that they proposed: the magi accordingly assembled the Persians, and leading Prexaspes to the top of the tower, commanded him to make an oration. He, without paying the least attention to the promises he had made, recited the genealogy of the family of Cyrus, beginning with Achæmenes. When he came to Cyrus himself, he enumerated the services which that prince had rendered the Persians. He then made a full discovery of the truth, excusing himself for concealing it so long, from the danger which the revealing it would have incurred, but that it was now forced from him. He assured them that he actually had killed Smerdis, by the order of Cambyzes, and that the magi now exercised the sovereign authority. When he had imprecated many curses upon the Persians, if they did not attempt the recovery of their rights, and take vengeance upon the usurpers, he threw himself from the tower. Such was the end of Prexaspes, a man who through every period of his life merited esteem.

LXXVI. The seven Persians, having determined

instantly to attack the magi, proceeded, after imploring the aid of the gods, to execute their purpose. They were at first ignorant of the fate of Prexaspes, but they learned it as they went along. They withdrew for a while to deliberate together; they who sided with Otanes, thought that their enterprise should be deferred, at least during the present tumult of affairs. The friends of Darius, on the contrary, were averse to any delay, and were anxious to execute what they had resolved, immediately. Whilst they remained in this suspense, they observed seven pair of hawks, which, pursuing two pair of vultures, beat and severely tore them. At this sight, the conspirators came immediately into the designs of Darius; and relying on the omen of the birds, advanced boldly to the palace.

LXXVII. On their arrival at the gates, it happened as Darius had foreseen. The guards, unsuspecting of what was intended, and awed by their dignity of rank, who, in this instance, seemed to act from a divine impulse, without any questions, permitted them to enter. As soon as they came to the interior of the palace, they met with the eunuchs, who were employed as the royal messengers; these asked their business, and at the same time threatened the guards for suffering them to enter. On their opposing their farther entrance, the conspirators drew their swords, and, encouraging each other, put the eunuchs to death; from hence they instantly rushed to the inner apartments.

LXXVIII. Here the two magi happened to be, in consultation about what was to be done in consequence of the conduct of Prexaspes. As soon as they perceived the tumult, and heard the cries of the eunuchs, they ran towards them, and preparing in a manly manner to defend themselves, the one seized a bow and the other a lance. As the conspirators drew near to the attack, the bow became useless; but the other magus, who was armed with the lance, wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, though the blow was not fatal. The magus who found his bow of no service, retreated to

an adjoining apartment, into which he was followed by Darius and Gobryas. This latter seized the magus round the waist; but as this happened in the dark, Darius stood in hesitation, fearing to strike, lest he should wound Gobryas. When Gobryas perceived this, he inquired why he was thus inactive: when Darius replied, "that it was from his fear of wounding his friend;" "Strike," exclaimed Gobryas, "though you should pierce both." Darius instantly complied, and ran his sword through the magus.

LXXIX. Having thus slain the magi, they instantly cut off their heads. Their two friends who were wounded were left behind, as well to guard the citadel, as on account of their inability to follow them. The remaining five ran out into the public street, having the heads of the magi in their hands, and making violent outcries. They called aloud to the Persians, explaining what had happened, and exposing the heads of the usurpers; at the same time, whoever of the magi appeared was instantly put to death. The Persians hearing what these seven noblemen had effected, and learning the imposture practised on them by the magi, were seized with the desire of imitating their conduct. Sallying forth with drawn swords, they killed every magus whom they met; and if night had not checked their rage, not one would have escaped. The anniversary of this day the Persians celebrate with great solemnity; the festival they observe is called the magophonia, or the slaughter of the magi. On this occasion no magus is permitted to be seen in public, they are obliged to confine themselves at home.

LXXX. When the tumult had subsided, and an interval of five days was elapsed, the conspirators met to deliberate on the situation of affairs. Their sentiments, as delivered on this occasion, however they may want credit with many of the Greeks, were in fact as follows.—Otanes recommended a republican form of government: "It does not," says he, "seem to me advisable, that the government of Persia should hereafter be intrusted to any individual person, this being neither popular nor wise. We all know the

extreme lengths to which the arrogance of Cambyzes proceeded, and some of us have felt its influence. How can that form of government possibly be good, in which an individual with impunity may indulge his passions, and which is apt to transport even the best of men beyond the bounds of reason? When a man, naturally envious, attains greatness, he instantly becomes insolent: insolence and jealousy are the distinguishing vices of tyrants, and when combined lead to the most enormous crimes. He who is placed at the summit of power, ought indeed to be a stranger to envy; but we know, by fatal experience, that the contrary happens. We know also, that the worthiest citizens excite the jealousy of tyrants, who are pleased only with the most abandoned; they are ever prompt to listen to the voice of calumny. If we pay them temperate respect, they take umbrage that we are not more profuse in our attentions: if the respect with which they are treated seem immoderate, they call it adulation. The severest misfortune of all is, that they pervert the institutions of their country, offer violence to our females, and put those whom they dislike to death, without the formalities of justice. But a democracy in the first place bears the honourable name of an equality; the disorders which prevail in a monarchy cannot there take place. The magistrate is appointed by lot, he is accountable for his administration, and whatever is done, must be with the general consent. I am, therefore, of opinion, that monarchy should be abolished, and that, as every thing depends on the people, a popular government should be established." Such were the sentiments of Otanes.

LXXXI. Megabyzus, however, was inclined to an oligarchy; in favour of which he thus expressed himself: "All that Otanes has urged, concerning the extirpation of tyranny, meets with my entire approbation; but when he recommends the supreme authority to be intrusted to the people, he seems to me to err in the extreme. Tumultuous assemblies of the people are never distinguished by wisdom, but always by insolence; neither can any thing be possibly more pre-

posterous, than to fly from the tyranny of an individual to the intemperate caprice of the vulgar. Whatever a tyrant undertakes, has the merit of previous concert and design; but the people are always rash and ignorant. And how can they be otherwise, who are uninstructed, and with no internal sense of what is good and right? Destitute of judgment, their actions resemble the violence of a torrent. To me, a democracy seems to involve the ruin of our country: let us, therefore, intrust the government to a few individuals, selected for their talents and their virtues. Let us constitute a part of these ourselves, and from the exercise of authority so deposited, we may be justified in expecting the happiest events."

LXXXII. Darius was the third who delivered his opinion. "The sentiments of Megabyzus," he observed, "as they relate to a popular government, are unquestionably wise and just; but from his opinion of an oligarchy, I totally dissent. Supposing the three different forms of government, monarchy, democracy, and an oligarchy, severally to prevail in the greatest perfection, I am of opinion that monarchy has greatly the advantage. Indeed nothing can be better than the government of an individual eminent for his virtue. He will not only have regard to the general welfare of his subjects, but his resolutions will be cautiously concealed from the public enemies of the state. In an oligarchy, the majority who have the care of the state, though employed in the exercise of virtue for the public good, will be the objects of mutual envy and dislike. Every individual will be anxious to extend his own personal importance, from which will proceed faction, sedition, and bloodshed. The sovereign power coming by these means to the hands of a single person, constitutes the strongest argument to prove what form of government is best. Whenever the people possess the supreme authority, disorders in the state are unavoidable: such disorders, introduced in a republic, do not separate the bad and the profligate from each other, they unite them in the closest bonds of connexion. They who mutually injure the state, mutually support each other; this evil

exists till some individual, assuming authority, suppresses the sedition; he of course obtains popular admiration, which ends in his becoming the sovereign; and this again tends to prove, that a monarchy is of all governments the most excellent. To comprehend all that can be said at once, to what are we indebted for our liberty? did we derive it from the people, an oligarchy, or an individual? For my own part, as we were certainly indebted to one man for freedom, I think that to one alone the government should be intrusted. Neither can we without danger change the customs of our country."

LXXXIII. Such were the three different opinions delivered, the latter of which was approved by four out of the seven. When Otanes saw his desire to establish an equality in Persia rejected, he spoke thus: "As it seems determined that Persia shall be governed by one person, whether chosen among ourselves by lot, or by the suffrages of the people, or by some other method, you shall have no opposition from me: I am equally averse to govern or obey. I therefore yield, on condition that no one of you shall ever reign over me, or any of my posterity." The rest of the conspirators assenting to this, he made no farther opposition, but retired from the assembly. At the present period this is the only family in Persia which retains its liberty, for all that is required of them is not to transgress the laws of their country.

LXXXIV. The remaining six noblemen continued to consult about the most equitable mode of electing a king; and they severally determined, that if the choice should fall upon any of themselves, Otanes himself and all his posterity should be annually presented with a Median habit as well as with every other distinction magnificent in itself, and deemed honourable in Persia. They decreed him this tribute of respect, as he had first agitated the matter, and called them together. These were their determinations respecting Otanes; as to themselves, they mutually agreed that access to the royal palace should be permitted to each of them, without the ceremony of a previous messenger, except when the king should hap-

pen to be in bed with his wife. They also resolved, that the king should marry no woman but from the family of one of the conspirators. The mode they adopted to elect a king was this: they agreed to meet on horseback at sun-rise in the vicinity of the city, and to make him king whose horse should neigh the first.

LXXXV. Darius had a groom, whose name was *Œbares*, a man of considerable ingenuity, for whom, on his return home, he immediately sent. "*Œbares*," said he, "it is determined that we are to meet at sun-rise on horseback, and that he among us shall be king, whose horse shall first neigh. Whatever acuteness you have, exert it on this occasion, that no one but myself may obtain this honour." "Sir," replied *Œbares*, "if your being a king or not depends on what you say, be not afraid; I have a kind of charm, which will prevent any one's being preferred to yourself."—"Whatever," replied Darius, "this charm may be, it must be applied without delay, as the morning will decide the matter." *Œbares*, therefore, as soon as evening came, conducted to the place before the city a mare, to which he knew the horse of Darius was particularly inclined: he afterwards brought the horse there, and after carrying him several times round and near the mare, he finally permitted him to cover her.

LXXXVI. The next morning as soon as it was light, the six Persians assembled, as had been agreed, on horseback. After riding up and down at the place appointed, they came at length to the spot where, the preceding evening, the mare had been brought; here the horse of Darius instantly began to neigh, which, though the sky was remarkably clear, was instantly succeeded by thunder and lightning. The heavens thus seemed to favour, and indeed to act in concert with Darius. Immediately the other noblemen dismounted, and falling at his feet, hailed him king.

LXXXVII. Such, according to some, was the stratagem of *Œbares*; others, however, relate the matter differently; and both accounts prevail in Persia. These last affirm, that the groom, having rubbed his hand against the private parts of the mare, after-

wards folded it up in his vest, and that in the morning, as the horses were about to depart, he drew it out from his garment, and touched the nostrils of the horse of Darius, and that this scent instantly made him snort and neigh.

LXXXVIII. Darius the son of Hystaspes was thus proclaimed king; and, except the Arabians, all the nations of Asia who had been subdued first by Cyrus, and afterwards by Cambyzes, acknowledged his authority. The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of Persia, but were in its alliance: they afforded Cambyzes the means of penetrating into Egypt, without which he could never have accomplished his purpose. Darius first of all married two women of Persia, both of them daughters of Cyrus, Atossa who had first been married to Cambyzes, and afterwards to the magus, and Antystone a virgin. He then married Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and also that daughter of Otanes who had been the instrument in discovering the magus. Being firmly established on the throne, his first work was the erection of an equestrian statue, with this inscription: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, obtained the sovereignty of Persia by the sagacity of his horse, and the ingenuity of Cēbares his groom." The name of the horse was also inserted.

LXXXIX. The next act of his authority was to divide Persia into twenty provinces, which they call satrapies, to each of which a governor was appointed. He then ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many nations together, which were near each other, under one district; and sometimes he passed over many which were adjacent, forming one department of various remote and scattered nations. His particular division of the provinces, and the mode fixed for the payment of their annual tribute, was this: They whose payment was to be made in silver, were to take the Babylonian talent for their standard; the Euboic talent was to regulate those who made their payment in gold; the Babylonian talent, it is to be observed, is equal to seventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and indeed

of Cambyses, there were no specific tributés, but presents were made to the sovereign. On account of these and similar innovations, the Persians call Darius a merchant, Cambyses a despot, but Cyrus a parent. Darius seemed to have no other object in view but the acquisition of gain; Cambyses was negligent and severe; whilst Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever studious of the good of his subjects.

XC. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans, and Pamphylians, were comprehended under one district, and jointly paid a tribute of four hundred talents of silver; they formed the first satrapy. The second, which paid five hundred talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygenians. A tribute of three hundred and sixty talents was paid by those who inhabit the right side of the Hellespont, by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; and these nations constituted the third satrapy. The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day a white horse, that is to say, three hundred and sixty annually, with five hundred talents of silver; of these one hundred and forty were appointed for the payment of the cavalry who formed the guard of the country; the remaining three hundred and sixty were received by Darius: these formed the fourth satrapy.

XCI. The tribute levied from the fifth satrapy was three hundred and fifty talents. Under this district, was comprehended the tract of country which extended from the city Posideium, built on the frontiers of Cilicia, and Syria, by Amphilochus, son of Amphiaras, as far as Egypt, part of Arabia alone excluded, which paid no tribute. The same satrapy, moreover, included all Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the isle of Cyprus. Seven hundred talents were exacted from Egypt, from the Africans which border upon Egypt, from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Egyptian district. The produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris was not included in this, neither was the corn, to the amount of seven hundred talents more; one hundred and twenty thousand

measures of which, were applied to the maintenance of the Persians and their auxiliary troops garrisoned within the white castle of Memphis: this was the sixth satrapy. The seventh was composed of the Satgagydæ, the Gandarii, the Dadicæ, and Aparytæ, who together paid one hundred and seventy talents. The eighth satrapy furnished three hundred talents, and consisted of Susa and the rest of the Cissians,

XCII. Babylon and the other parts of Assyria constituted the ninth satrapy, and paid a thousand talents of silver, with five hundred young eunuchs. The tenth satrapy furnished four hundred and fifty talents, and consisted of Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantes. The Caspians, the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ, contributed amongst them two hundred talents, and formed the eleventh satrapy. The twelfth produced three hundred and sixty talents, and was composed of the whole country from the Bactrians to Æglos.

XCIII. From the thirteenth satrapy four hundred talents were levied; this comprehended Pactyica, the Armenians, with the contiguous nations, as far as the Euxine. The fourteenth satrapy consisted of the Sangatians, the Sarangæans, the Thamaæans, Utians, and Menci, with those who inhabit the islands of the Red Sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes; these jointly contributed six hundred talents. The Sacæ and Casii formed the fifteenth satrapy, and provided two hundred and fifty talents. Three hundred talents were levied from the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, who were the sixteenth satrapy.

XCIV. The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia paid four hundred talents, and formed the seventeenth satrapy. The eighteenth was taxed at two hundred talents, and was composed of the Matieni, the Saspirians, and Alaronians. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynæci, and Mardians, provided three hundred talents, and were the nineteenth satrapy. The Indians, the most numerous nation of whom we have any knowledge, were proportionably taxed; they

formed the twentieth satrapy, and furnished six hundred talents in golden ingots.

XCV. If the Babylonian money be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the aggregate sum will be found to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty talents in silver; and, estimating the gold at thirteen times the value of silver, there will be found, according to the Euboic talent, four thousand six hundred and eighty of these talents. The whole being estimated together, it will appear that the annual tribute paid to Darius was fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents, omitting many trifling sums not deserving our attention.

XCVI. Such was the sum which Asia principally, and Africa in some small proportion, paid to Darius. In process of time, the islands also were taxed, as was that part of Europe which extends to Thessaly. The manner in which the king deposited these riches in his treasury, was this:—The gold and silver were melted and poured into earthen vessels; the vessel, when full, was removed, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, such a piece was broken off, as the contingency required.

XCVII. We have thus described the different satrapies, and the impost on each. Persia is the only province which I have not mentioned as tributary. The Persians are not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but they present a regular gratuity. The Ethiopians, who border upon Egypt, subdued by Cambyses in his expedition against the Ethiopian Macrobians, are similarly circumstanced, as are also the inhabitants of the sacred town of Nyssa, who have festivals in honour of Bacchus. These Ethiopians, with their neighbours, resemble in their customs the Calantian Indians: they have the same rites of sepulture, and their dwellings are subterraneous. Once in every three years these two nations present to the king two chœnices of gold unrefined, two hundred blocks of ebony, twenty large elephant's teeth, and five Ethiopian youths; which custom has been continued to my time. The people of Colchos and their neighbours, as far as mount Caucasus, imposed upon

themselves the payment of a gratuity. To this latter place the Persian authority extends; northward of this, their name inspires no respect. Every five years the nations above-mentioned present the king with a hundred youths and a hundred virgins, which also has been continued within my remembrance. The Arabians contribute every year frankincense to the amount of a thousand talents. Independent of the tributes before specified, these were the presents which the king received.

XCVIII. The Indians procure the great number of golden ingots, which, as I have observed, they present as a donative to the king, in this manner:—That part of India which lies towards the east is very sandy; and indeed, of all nations concerning whom we have any authentic accounts, the Indians are the people of Asia who are nearest to the east, and the place of the rising sun. The part most eastward, is a perfect desert, from the sand. Under the name of Indians many nations are comprehended, using different languages; of these, some attend principally to the care of cattle, others not; some inhabit the marshes, and live on raw fish, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint makes one canoe. These Indians have cloth made of rushes, which having mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuirass.

XCIX. To the east of these are other Indians, called Padæi, who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh, and are said to observe these customs:—If any man among them be diseased, his nearest connexions put him to death, alleging in excuse that sickness would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connexions treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten; but there are very few who arrive at old age, for in case of sickness they put every one to death.

C. There are other Indians, who, differing in manners from the above, put no animal to death, sow no

grain, have no fixed habitations, and live solely upon vegetables. They have a particular grain, nearly of the size of millet, which the soil spontaneously produces, which is protected by a calyx, the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of these Indians be taken sick, they retire to some solitude, and there remain, no one expressing the least concern about them during their illness, or after their death.

CI. Among all these Indians whom I have specified, the communication between the sexes is like that of the beasts, open and unrestrained. They are all of the same complexion, and much resembling the Ethiopians. The semen which their males emit is not, like that of other men, white, but black like their bodies, which is also the case with the Ethiopians. These Indians are very remote from Persia towards the south, and were never in subjection to Darius.

CII. There are still other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of Caspatyrum, and the country of Pactyica. Of all the Indians these in their manners most resemble the Bactrians; they are distinguished above the rest by their bravery, and are those who are employed in searching for the gold. In the vicinity of this district there are vast deserts of sand, in which a species of ants is produced, not so large as a dog, but bigger than a fox. Some of these, taken by hunting, are preserved in the palace of the Persian monarch. Like the ants common in Greece, which in form also they nearly resemble, they make themselves habitations in the ground, by digging under the sand. The sand thus thrown up is mixed with gold-dust, to collect which, the Indians are despatched into the deserts. To this expedition they proceed, each with three camels fastened together, a female being secured between two males, and upon her the Indian is mounted, taking particular care to have one which has recently foaled. The females of this description are in all respects as swift as horses, and capable of bearing much greater burdens.

CIII. As my countrymen of Greece are well acquainted with the form of the camel, I shall not here describe it; I shall only mention those particulars con-

cerning it, with which I conceive them to be less acquainted. Behind, the camel has four thigh and as many knee joints; the member of generation falls from between the hinder legs, and is turned towards the tail.

CIV. Having thus connected their camels, the Indians proceed in search of the gold, choosing the hottest time of the day as most proper for their purpose, for then it is that the ants conceal themselves under the earth. In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people is greatest, not at mid-day, but in the morning. They have a vertical sun till about the time when, with us, people withdraw from the forum, during which period the warmth is more excessive than the mid-day sun in Greece, so that the inhabitants are then said to go into the water for refreshment. Their mid-day is nearly of the same temperature as in other places; after which the warmth of the air becomes like the morning elsewhere; it then progressively grows milder, till at the setting sun it becomes very cool.

CV. As soon as they arrive at the spot, the Indians precipitately fill their bags with sand, and return as expeditiously as possible. The Persians say that these ants know and pursue the Indians by their smell, with inconceivable swiftness. They affirm, that if the Indians did not make considerable progress whilst the ants were collecting themselves together, it would be impossible for any of them to escape. For this reason, at different intervals, they separate one of the male camels from the female, which are always fleetest than the males, and are at this time additionally incited by the remembrance of their young whom they had left. Thus, according to the Persians, the Indians obtain their greatest quantity of gold; what they procure by digging is of much inferior importance.

CVI. Thus it appears that the extreme parts of the habitable world, are distinguished by the possession of many beautiful things, as Greece is for its agreeable and temperate seasons. India, as I have already remarked, is the last inhabited country towards the east, where every species of birds and of quadrupeds, horses excepted, are much larger than in any other part

of the world. Their horses are not so large as the Nisæan horses of Media. They have also a great abundance of gold, which they procure partly by digging, partly from the rivers, but principally by the method above described. They possess likewise a kind of plant, which, instead of fruit, produces wool, of a finer and better quality than that of sheep: of this the natives make their clothes.

CVII. The last inhabited country towards the south, is Arabia, the only region of the earth which produces frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and ledanum. Except the myrrh, the Arabians obtain all these aromatics without any considerable trouble. To collect the frankincense, they burn under the tree which produces it, a quantity of the styrax, which the Phœnicians export into Greece; for these trees are each of them guarded by a prodigious number of flying serpents, small of body and of different colours, which are dispersed by the smoke of the gum. It is this species of serpent which, in an immense body, infests Egypt.

CVIII. The Arabians, moreover, affirm that their whole country would be filled with these serpents, if the same thing were not to happen with respect to them which we know happens, and, as it should seem, providentially, to the vipers. Those animals which are more timid, and which serve for the purpose of food, to prevent their total consumption are always remarkably prolific, which is not the case with those which are fierce and venomous. The hare, for instance, the prey of every beast and bird, as well as of man, produces young abundantly. It is the singular property of this animal, that it conceives a second time, when it is already pregnant, and at the same time carries in its womb young ones covered with down, others not yet formed, others just beginning to be formed, whilst the mother herself is again ready to conceive. But the lioness, of all animals the strongest and most ferocious, produces but one young one in her life, for at the birth of her cub she loses her matrix. The reason of this seems to be, that as the claws of the lion are sharper by much than those of any other animal,

the cub, as soon as it begins to stir in the womb, injures and tears the matrix, which it does still more and more as it grows bigger, so that at the time of its birth no part of the womb remains whole.

CIX. Thus, therefore, if vipers and those winged serpents of Arabia were to generate in the ordinary course of nature, the natives could not live. But it happens, that when they are incited by lust to copulate, at the very instant of emission, the female seizes the male by the neck, and does not quit her hold till she has quite devoured it. The male thus perishes, but the female is also punished; for whilst the young are still within the womb, as the time of birth approaches, to make themselves a passage they tear in pieces the matrix, thus avenging their father's death. Those serpents which are not injurious to mankind lay eggs, and produce a great quantity of young. There are vipers in every part of the world, but winged serpents are found only in Arabia, where there are great numbers.

CX. We have described how the Arabians procure their frankincense; their mode of obtaining the cassia is this: they cover the whole of their body, and the face, except the eyes, with skins of different kinds; they thus proceed to the place where it grows, which is in a marsh not very deep, but infested by a winged species of animal much resembling a bat, very strong, and making a hideous noise; they protect their eyes from these, and then gather the cassia.

CXI. Their manner of collecting the cinnamon is still more extraordinary. In what particular spot it is produced, they themselves are unable to certify. There are some who assert that it grows in the region where Bacchus was educated, and their mode of reasoning is by no means improbable. These affirm that the vegetable substance, which we, as instructed by the Phœnicians, call cinnamon, is by certain large birds carried to their nests constructed of clay, and placed in the cavities of inaccessible rocks. To procure it thence, the Arabians have contrived this stratagem:—they cut in very large pieces the dead bodies of oxen, asses, or other beasts of burden, and carry

them near these nests: they then retire to some distance; the birds soon fly to the spot, and carry these pieces of flesh to their nests, which not being able to support the weight, fall in pieces to the ground. The Arabians take this opportunity of gathering the cinnamon, which they afterwards dispose of to different countries.

CXII. The ledanum, or, as the natives term it, ladanum, is gathered in a more remarkable manner than even the cinnamon. In itself it is particularly fragrant, though gathered from a place as much the contrary. It is found sticking to the beards of he-goats, like the mucus of trees. It is mixed by the Arabians, in various aromatics, and indeed it is with this that they commonly perfume themselves.

CXIII. I have thought it proper to be thus minute on the subject of the Arabian perfumes; and we may add, that the whole of Arabia exhales a most delicious fragrance. There are also in this country two species of sheep, well deserving admiration, and to be found nowhere else. One of them is remarkable for an enormous length of tail, extending to three cubits, if not more. If they were permitted to trail them along the ground, they would certainly ulcerate from the friction. But the shepherds of the country are skilful enough to make little carriages, upon which they secure the tails of the sheep: the tails of the other species are of the size of one cubit.

CXIV. Ethiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to this country on the south-west. This produces gold in great quantities, elephants with their prodigious teeth, trees and shrubs of every kind, as well as ebony; its inhabitants are also remarkable for their size, their beauty, and their length of life.

CXV. The above are the two extremes of Asia and Africa. Of that part of Europe nearest to the west, I am not able to speak with decision. I by no means believe that the Barbarians give the name of Eridanus to a river which empties itself into the Northern Sea, whence, as it is said, our amber comes. Neither am I better acquainted with the islands called the

Cassiterides, from which we are said to have our tin. The name Eridanus is certainly not barbarous, it is of Greek derivation, and, as I should conceive, introduced by one of our poets. I have endeavoured, but without success, to meet with some one who from ocular observation might describe to me the sea which lies in that part of Europe. It is nevertheless certain, that both our tin and our amber are brought from those extreme regions.

CXVI. It is certain that in the north of Europe there is a prodigious quantity of gold; but how it is produced I am not able to tell with certainty. It is affirmed indeed, that the Arimaspi, a people who have but one eye, take this gold away violently from the griffins; but I can never persuade myself that there are any men who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other respects the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much seems unquestionable, that these extreme parts of the world contain within themselves things the most beautiful as well as rare.

CXVII. There is in Asia a large plain, surrounded on every part by a ridge of hills, through which there are five different apertures. It formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, who inhabit those hills in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangensians, and Thomanians; but after the subjection of these nations to Persia, it became the property of the great king. From these surrounding hills there issues a large river called Aces: this formerly, being conducted through the openings of the mountain, watered the several countries above mentioned. But when these regions came under the power of the Persians, the apertures were closed, and gates placed at each of them to prevent the passage of the river. Thus on the inner side, from the waters having no issue, this plain became a sea, and the neighbouring nations, deprived of their accustomed resource, were reduced to the 'extremest' distress from the want of water. In winter they, in common with other nations, had the benefit of the rains, but in summer, after sowing their millet and sesamum, they required water, but in vain. Not being assisted in their distress, the inhabitants of

both sexes hastened to Persia, and presenting themselves before the palace of the king, made loud complaints. In consequence of this, the monarch directed the gates to be opened towards those parts where water was most immediately wanted; ordering them again to be closed after the lands had been sufficiently refreshed: the same was done with respect to them all, beginning where moisture was wanted the most. I have, however, been informed, that this is only granted in consideration of a large donative above the usual tribute.

CXVIII. Intaphernes, one of the seven who had conspired against the magus, lost his life from the following act of insolence. Soon after the death of the usurper, he went to the palace, with the view of having a conference with the king; for the conspirators had mutually agreed, that, except the king should happen to be in bed with his wife, they might any of them have access to the royal presence, without sending a previous messenger. Intaphernes, not thinking any introduction necessary, was about to enter, but the porter and the introducing officer prevented him, pretending that the king was retired with one of his wives. He, not believing their assertion, drew his sword, and cut off their ears and noses; then taking the bridle from his horse, he tied them together, and so dismissed them.

CXIX. In this condition they presented themselves before the king, telling him why they had been thus treated. Darius, thinking that this might have been done with the consent of the other conspirators, sent for them separately, and desired to know whether they approved of what had happened. As soon as he was convinced that Intaphernes had perpetrated this deed without any communication with the rest, he ordered him, his son, and all his family, to be taken into custody: having many reasons to suspect, that in concert with his friends he might excite a sedition: he afterwards commanded them all to be put in chains, and prepared for execution. The wife of Intaphernes then presented herself before the royal palace, exhibiting every demonstration of grief. As she regularly

continued this conduct, her frequent appearance at length excited the compassion of Darius; who thus addressed her by a messenger: "Woman, king Darius offers you the liberty of any individual of your family, whom you may most desire to preserve." After some deliberation with herself, she made this reply: "If the king will grant me the life of any one of my family, I choose my brother in preference to the rest." Her determination greatly astonished the king; he sent to her therefore a second message to this effect: "The king desires to know why you have thought proper to pass over your children and your husband, and to preserve your brother; who is certainly a more remote connexion than your children, and cannot be so dear to you as your husband?" She answered thus: "O king! if it please the deity, I may have another husband; and if I be deprived of these, may have other children; but as my parents are both of them dead, it is certain that I can have no other brother." The answer appeared to Darius very judicious; indeed he was so well pleased with it, that he not only gave the woman the life of her brother, but also pardoned her eldest son; the rest were all of them put to death. Thus, at no great interval of time, perished one of the seven conspirators.

CXX. About the time of the last illness of Camby-ses, the following accident happened. The governor of Sardis was a Persian, named Orôtes, who had been promoted by Cyrus. This man conceived the atrocious design of accomplishing the death of Poly-crates of Samos, by whom he had never in word or deed been injured; and whose person he never had beheld. His assigned motive was commonly reported to be this: Orôtes one day sitting at the gates of the palace with another Persian, whose name was Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, entered into a conversation with him, which at length terminated in dispute. The subject about which they contended was military virtue: "Can you," says Mitrobates to Orôtes, "have any pretensions to valour, who have never added Samos to the dominions of your master, contiguous as it is to your province; and which indeed

may so easily be taken, that one of its own citizens made himself master of it, with the help of fifteen men in arms, and still retains the supreme authority?" This made a deep impression upon the mind of Orætes; but without meditating revenge against the person who had affronted him, he determined to effect the death of Polycrates, on whose account he had been reproached.

CXXII. There are some, but not many, who affirm that Orætes sent a messenger to Samos, to propose some question to Polycrates, but of what nature, is unknown; and that he found Polycrates in the men's apartment, reclining on a couch, with Anacreon of Teos by his side. The man advanced to deliver his message; but Polycrates, either by accident, or to demonstrate the contempt in which he held Orætes, continued all the time he was speaking with his face towards the wall, and did not vouchsafe any reply.

CXXII. These are the two assigned motives for the destruction of Polycrates: every one will prefer that which seems most probable. Orætes, who lived at Magnesia, which is on the banks of the Mæander, sent Myrsus, the Lydian, son of Gyges, with a message to Polycrates at Samos. With the character of Polycrates, Orætes was well acquainted; for, except Minos the Cnossian, or whoever before him accomplished it, he was the first Greek who formed the design of making himself master of the sea. But as far as historical tradition may be depended upon, Polycrates is the only individual who projected the subjection of Ionia and the islands. Perfectly aware of these circumstances, Orætes sent this message:

"ORÆTES TO POLYCRATES.

"I understand that you are revolving some vast project in your mind, but have not money responsible to your views. Be advised by me, and you will at the same time promote your own advantage and preserve me. I am informed, and I believe it to be true, that king Cambyzes has determined on my death. Receive, therefore, me with my wealth, part of which shall be at your disposal, part at mine: with the as-

sistance of this you may easily obtain the sovereignty of Greece. If you have any suspicions, send to me some one who is in your intimate confidence, and he shall be convinced by demonstration."

CXXIII. With these overtures, Polycrates was so exceedingly delighted, that he was eager to comply with them immediately, for his love of money was excessive. He sent, first of all, to examine into the truth of the affair, Mæandrius, his secretary, called so after his father. This Mæandrius, not long afterwards, placed as a sacred donative in the temple of Juno, the rich furniture of the apartment of Polycrates. Oroetes, knowing the motive for which this man came, contrived and executed the following artifice: he filled eight chests nearly to the top with stones, then covering over the surface with gold, they were tied together, as if ready to be removed. Mæandrius on his arrival saw the above chests, and returned to make his report to Polycrates.

CXXIV. Polycrates, notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, and the remonstrances of his friends, was preparing to meet Oroetes, when his daughter in a dream saw this vision: she beheld her father aloft in the air, washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun. Terrified by this incident, she used every means in her power to prevent his going to meet Oroetes; and as he was about to embark for this purpose, on board a fifty-oared galley, she persisted in auguring unfavourably of his expedition. At this he was so incensed, as to declare, that if he returned safe, she should remain long unmarried. To this she expressed herself very desirous to submit; being willing to continue long a virgin, rather than be deprived of her father.

CXXV. Polycrates, disregarding all that had been said to him, set sail to meet Oroetes. He was accompanied by many of his friends, and amongst the rest by Democedes, the son of Calliphon; he was a physician of Crotona, and the most skilful practitioner of his time. As soon as Polycrates arrived at Magnesia, he was put to a miserable death, unworthy of his rank and superior endowments. Of all the princes who

ever reigned in Greece, those of Syracuse alone excepted, none equalled Polycrates in magnificence. Orætes, having basely put him to death, fixed his body to a cross; his attendants he sent back to Samos, telling them, "they ought to be thankful, that he had not made them slaves." The strangers, and the servants of those who had accompanied Polycrates, he detained in servitude. The circumstance of his being suspended on a cross, fulfilled the vision of the daughter of Polycrates: for he was washed by Jupiter, that is to say, by the rain, and he was anointed by the sun, for it extracted the moisture from his body. The great prosperity of Polycrates terminated in this unfortunate death, which indeed had been foretold him by Amasis, king of Egypt.

CXXVI. But it was not long before Orætes paid ample vengeance to the manes of Polycrates. After the death of Cambyses, and the usurpation of the magi, Orætes, who had never deserved well of the Persians, whom the Medes had fraudulently deprived of the supreme authority, took the advantage of the disorder of the times, to put to death Mitrobates the governor of Dascylium, and his son Cranapes. Mitrobates was the person who had formerly reproached Orætes; and both he and his son were highly esteemed in Persia. In addition to his other numerous and atrocious crimes, he compassed the death of a messenger, sent to him from Darius, for no other reason but because the purport of the message was not agreeable to him. He ordered the man to be waylaid in his return, and both he and his horse were slain, and their bodies concealed.

CXXVII. As soon as Darius ascended the throne, he determined to punish Orætes for his various enormities, but more particularly for the murder of Mitrobates and his son. He did not think it prudent to send an armed force openly against him, as the state was still unsettled, and as his own authority had been so recently obtained; he was informed, moreover, that Orætes possessed considerable strength: his government extended over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, and he was regularly attended by a guard of a thousand

men. Darius was, therefore, induced to adopt this mode of proceeding: he assembled the noblest of the Persians, and thus addressed them: "Which of you, O Persians! will undertake for me the accomplishment of a project which requires sagacity alone, without military aid, or any kind of violence? for where wisdom is required, force is of little avail;—which of you will bring me the body of Orætes, alive or dead? He has never deserved well of the Persians; and, in addition to his numerous crimes, he has killed two of our countrymen, Mitrobates and his son. He has also, with intolerable insolence, put a messenger of mine to death: we must prevent, therefore, his perpetrating any greater evils against us, by putting him to death."

CXXVIII. When Darius had thus spoken, thirty Persians offered to accomplish what he wished. As they were disputing on the subject, the king ordered the decision to be made by lot; which fell upon Bagæus, the son of Artontes. To attain the end which he proposed, he caused a number of letters to be written on a variety of subjects, and sealing them with the seal of Darius, he proceeded with them to Sardis. As soon as he came to the presence of Orætes, he delivered the letters one by one to the king's secretary; one of whom is regularly attendant upon the governors of provinces. The motive of Bagæus in delivering the letters separately was to observe the disposition of the guards, and how far they might be inclined to revolt from Orætes. When he saw that they treated the letters with great respect, and their contents with still greater, he delivered one to this effect: "Persians, king Darius forbids you serving any longer Orætes as guards:" in a moment they threw down their arms. Bagæus, observing their prompt obedience in this instance, assumed still greater confidence; he delivered the last of his letters, of which these were the contents: "King Darius commands the Persians who are at Sardis to put Orætes to death:" without hesitation they drew their swords and killed him. In this manner was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged on Orætes the Persian.

CXXIX. Upon the death of Orœtes, his effects were all removed to Susa. Not long after which, Darius, as he was engaged in the chase, in leaping from his horse, twisted his foot with so much violence, that the ancle-bone was dislocated. Having at his court some Egyptians, supposed to be the most skilful of the medical profession, he trusted to their assistance. They, however, increased the evil, by twisting and otherwise violently handling the part affected: from the extreme pain which he endured, the king passed seven days and as many nights without sleep. In this situation, on the eighth day, some one ventured to recommend Democedes of Crotona, having before heard of his reputation at Sardis. Darius immediately sent for him: he was discovered amongst the slaves of Orœtes, where he had continued in neglect, and was brought to the king just as he was found, in chains and in rags.

CXXX. As soon as he appeared, Darius asked him if he had any knowledge of medicine? In the apprehension that if he discovered his art, he should never have the power of returning to Greece, Democedes for a while dissembled; which Darius perceiving, he ordered those who had brought him to produce the instruments of punishment and torture. Democedes began then to be more explicit, and confessed that, although he possessed no great knowledge of the art, yet by his connexion with a physician he had obtained some little proficiency. The management of the case was then intrusted to him; he accordingly applied such medicines and strong fomentations as were customary in Greece; by which means Darius, who began to despair of ever recovering the entire use of his foot, was not only enabled to sleep, but in a short time perfectly restored to health. In acknowledgment of his cure, Darius presented him with two pair of fetters of gold: upon which Democedes ventured to ask the king, whether, in return for his restoring him to health, he wished to double his calamity? The king, delighted with the reply, sent the man to the apartments of his women: the eunuchs who conducted him, informed them, that this was the man who had

restored the king to life; accordingly, every one of them, taking out a vase of gold, gave it to Democedes with the case. The present was so very valuable, that a servant who followed him behind, whose name was Sciton, by gathering up the staters which fell to the ground, obtained a prodigious sum of money.

CXXXI. The following incident was what induced Democedes to forsake Crotona, and attach himself to Polycrates. At Crotona he suffered continual restraint from the austere temper of his father; this becoming insupportable, he left him and went to Ægina. In the first year of his residence at this place, he excelled the most skilful of the medical profession, without having had any regular education, and indeed without the common instruments of the art. His reputation, however, was so great that, in the second year, the inhabitants of Ægina, by general consent, engaged his services at the price of one talent. In the third year, the Athenians retained him, at a salary of one hundred minæ; and in the fourth year, Polycrates engaged to give him two talents. His residence was then fixed at Samos; and to this man the physicians of Crotona are considerably indebted for the reputation which they enjoy; for at this period, in point of medical celebrity, the physicians of Crotona held the first, and those of Cyrene, the next place. At this time also the Argives had the credit of being the most skilful musicians of Greece.

CXXXII. Democedes having in this manner restored the king to health, had a sumptuous house provided him at Susa, was entertained at the king's own table, and, except the restriction of not being able to return to Greece, enjoyed all that he could wish. The Egyptian physicians, who, before this event, had the care of the king's health, were on account of their inferiority to Democedes, a Greek, condemned to the cross, but he obtained their pardon. He also procured the liberty of an Elean soothsayer, who having followed Polycrates, was detained and neglected among his other slaves. It may be added, that Democedes remained in the highest estimation with the king.

CXXXIII. It happened not long afterwards, that Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Darius, had an ulcer on her breast, which finally breaking, spread itself considerably. As long as it was small, she was induced by delicacy to conceal it; but when it grew more troublesome, she sent for Democedes, and showed it to him. He told her he was able to cure it; but exacted of her an oath, that in return she should serve him in whatever he might require, which he assured her, should be nothing to disgrace her.

CXXXIV. Atossa was cured by his skill, and, observant of her own promise and his instructions, she took the opportunity of thus addressing Darius, while she was in bed with him: "It is wonderful, my lord, that having such a numerous army at command, you have neither increased the power of Persia, nor at all extended your dominions. It becomes a man like you, in the vigour of your age, and master of so many and such powerful resources, to perform some act which may satisfy the Persians of the spirit and virtue of their prince. There are two reasons which give importance to what I recommend:—the one, that your subjects may venerate the manly accomplishments of their master; the other, that you may prevent the indolence of peace exciting them to tumult and sedition. Do not therefore consume your youth in inactivity, for the powers of the mind increase and improve with those of the body; and in like manner as old age comes on they become weaker and weaker, till they are finally blunted to every thing." "What you say," answered Darius, "coincides with what was passing in my mind. I had intended to make war against Scythia, and to construct a bridge to unite our continent with the other; which things shall be soon executed." "Will it not, Sir," returned Atossa, "be better to defer your intentions against the Scythians, who will at any time afford you an easy conquest? Rather make an expedition against Greece: I wish much to have for my attendants some women of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, of whom I have heard so much. You have, moreover, in the man who healed the wound of your foot, the person of all

others the best qualified to describe and explain to you every thing which relates to Greece." "If it be your wish," replied Darius, "that I should first make a military excursion against Greece, it will be proper to send previously thither some Persians as spies, in company with the man to whom you allude. As soon as they return, and shall have informed me of the result of their observations, I will proceed against Greece."

CXXXV. Darius having delivered his sentiments, no time was lost in fulfilling them. As soon as the morning appeared, he sent for fifteen Persians of approved reputation, and commanded them, in company with Democedes, to examine every part of the sea-coast of Greece, enjoining them to be very watchful of Democedes, and by all means to bring him back with them. When he had done this, he next sent for Democedes himself, and after desiring him to examine and explain to the Persians every thing which related to Greece, he entreated him to return in their company. All the valuables which he possessed, he recommended him to take, as presents to his father and his brethren, assuring him that he should be provided with a greater number on his return. He moreover informed him, that he had directed a vessel to accompany him, which was to be furnished with various things of value. In these professions Darius, as I am of opinion, was perfectly sincere; but Democedes, apprehending that the king meant to make trial of his fidelity, accepted these proposals without much acknowledgment. He desired, however, to leave his own effects, that they might be ready for his use at his return; but he accepted the vessel which was to carry the presents for his family. Darius, after giving these injunctions to Democedes, dismissed the party to prosecute their voyage.

CXXXVI. As soon as they arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and loaded a large transport with different articles of wealth; after this, they proceeded to Greece, examining the sea-coasts with the most careful attention. When they had informed themselves of the particulars relating to

the most important places in Greece, they passed over to Tarentum in Italy. Here Aristophilides, prince of Tarentum, and a native of Crotona, took away the helms of the Median vessels, and detained the Persians as spies. Whilst his companions were in this predicament, Democedes himself went to Crotona. Upon his arrival at his native place, Aristophilides gave the Persians their liberty, and restored what he had taken from them.

CXXXVII. The Persians, as soon as they recovered their liberty, sailed to Crotona, in pursuit of Democedes, and meeting with him in the forum, seized his person. Some of the inhabitants, through fear of the Persian power, were willing to deliver him up; others, on the contrary, beat the Persians with clubs; who exclaimed, "Men of Crotona, consider what ye do, in taking away from us a fugitive from our king. Do you imagine that you will derive any advantage from this insult to Darius? will not rather your city be the first object of our hostilities, the first that we shall plunder and reduce to servitude?" These menaces had but little effect upon the people of Crotona, for they not only assisted Democedes to escape, but also deprived the Persians of the vessel which accompanied them. They were, therefore, under the necessity of returning to Asia, without exploring any more of Greece; being thus deprived of their conductor. On their departure, Democedes commissioned them to inform Darius that he was married to a daughter of Milo, the name of Milo the wrestler being well known to the Persian monarch. To me it seems that he hastened his marriage, and expended a vast sum of money on the occasion, to convince Darius that he enjoyed considerable reputation in his own country.

CXXXVIII. The Persians, leaving Crotona, were driven by contrary winds to Japygia, where they were made slaves. Gillus, an exile of Tarentum, ransomed them, and sent them home to Darius. For this service the king declared himself willing to perform whatever Gillus should require; who accordingly explaining the circumstances of his misfortune, requested to be restored to his country. But Darius thinking

that if, for the purpose of effecting the restoration of this man, a large fleet should be fitted out, all Greece would take alarm; Gillus affirmed that the Cnidians would of themselves be able to accomplish it: imagining that as this people were in alliance with the Tarentines, it might be effected without difficulty. Darius acceded to his wishes, and sent a messenger to Cnidos, requiring them to restore Gillus to Tarentum. The Cnidians wished to satisfy Darius; but their solicitations had no effect on the Tarentines, and they were not in a situation to employ force. Of these particulars, the above is a faithful relation; and these were the first persons who, with the view of examining the state of Greece, passed over thither from Asia.

CXXXIX. Not long afterwards, Darius besieged and took Samos. This was the first city, either of Greeks or barbarians, which felt the force of his arms, and for these reasons: Cambyzes, in his expedition against Egypt, was accompanied by a great number of Greeks. Some, as it is probable, attended him from commercial views, others as soldiers, and many from no other motive than curiosity. Among these last was Syloson, an exile of Samos, son of *Æaces*, and brother of Polycrates. It happened one day very fortunately for this Syloson, that he was walking in the great square of Memphis with a red cloak folded about him. Darius, who was then in the king's guards, and of no particular consideration, saw him, and was so delighted with his cloak, that he went up to him with the view of purchasing it. Syloson, observing that Darius was very solicitous to have the cloak, happily, as it proved for him, expressed himself thus: "I would not part with this cloak for any pecuniary consideration whatever; but if it must be so, I will make you a present of it." Darius praised his generosity, and accepted the cloak.

CXL. Syloson for a while thought he had foolishly lost his cloak, but afterwards when Cambyzes died, and the seven conspirators had destroyed the magus, he learned that Darius, one of these seven, had obtained the kingdom, and was the very man to whom

formerly, at his request, in Egypt, he had given his cloak. He went, therefore, to Susa, and presenting himself before the royal palace, said that he had once done a service to the king. Of this circumstance the porter informed the king; who was much astonished, and exclaimed, "To what Greek can I possibly be obliged for any services? I have not long been in possession of my authority, and since this time no Greek has been admitted to my presence, nor can I at all remember being indebted to one of that nation. Introduce him, however, that I may know what he has to say." Syloson was accordingly admitted to the royal presence; and being interrogated by interpreters who he was, and in what circumstance he had rendered service to the king, he told the story of the cloak, and said that he was the person who had given it. In reply, Darius exclaimed, "Are you then that generous man, who, at a time when I was possessed of no authority, made me a present, which, though small, was as valuable to me then, as any thing of importance would be to me now? I will give you in return, that you may never repent of your kindness to Darius, the son of Hystaspes, abundance of gold and silver." "Sir," replied Syloson, "I would have neither gold nor silver; give me Samos my country, and deliver it from servitude. Since the death of Polycrates my brother, whom Orætes slew, it has been in the hands of one of our slaves. Give me this, Sir, without any effusion of blood, or reducing my countrymen to servitude."

CXLI. On hearing this, Darius sent an army, commanded by Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish all that Syloson had desired. Otanes proceeded to the sea, and embarked with his troops.

CXLII. The supreme authority at Samos was then possessed by Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, to whom it had been confided by Polycrates himself. He was desirous of proving himself a very honest man, but the times would not permit him. As soon as he was informed of the death of Polycrates, the first thing he did was to erect an altar to Jupiter Liberator, tracing round it the sacred ground, which may now be seen

in the neighbourhood of the city. Having done this, he assembled the citizens of Samos, and thus addressed them : " You are well acquainted that Polycrates confided to me his sceptre and his power, which if I think proper I may retain; but I shall certainly avoid doing that myself, which I deemed reprehensible in another. The ambition of Polycrates to rule over men who were his equals, always seemed to me unjust; nor can I approve of a like conduct in any man. Polycrates has yielded to his destiny; and for my part, I lay down the supreme authority, and restore you all to an equality of power. I only claim, which I think I reasonably may, six talents to be given me from the wealth of Polycrates, as well as the appointment in perpetuity, to me and my posterity, of the priesthood of Jupiter Liberator, whose temple I have traced out; and then I restore you to liberty." When Mæandrius had thus spoken, a Samian exclaimed from the midst of the assembly, " You are not worthy to rule over us, your principles are bad, and your conduct reproachable. Rather let us make you give an account of the wealth which has passed through your hands." The name of this person was Telesarchus, a man much respected by his fellow-citizens.

CXLIII. Mæandrius revolved this circumstance in his mind; and being convinced that if he resigned his power, some other would assume it, he determined to continue as he was. Returning to the citadel, he sent for the citizens, as if to give them an account of the moneys which had been alluded to, instead of which he seized and confined them. Whilst they remained in imprisonment, Mæandrius was taken ill; his brother Lycaretus, not thinking he would recover, that he might the more easily succeed in his views upon Samos, put the citizens who were confined to death; indeed it did not appear that they were desirous of life under the government of a tyrant.

CXLIV. When, therefore, the Persians arrived at Samos, with the view of restoring Syloson, they met with no resistance. The Mæandrian faction expressed themselves on certain conditions ready to submit: and Mæandrius himself consented to leave the island.

Their propositions were accepted by Otanes; and whilst they were employed in ratifying them, the principal men of the Persians had seats brought, on which they placed themselves in front of the citadel.

CXLV. Mæandrius had a brother, whose name was Charileus, who was of an untoward disposition, and for some offence was kept chained in a dungeon. As soon as he heard what was doing, and beheld from his place of confinement the Persians sitting at their ease, he clamorously requested to speak with Mæandrius. Mæandrius, hearing this, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him. As soon as Charileus came into his presence, he began to reproach and abuse him, earnestly importuning him to attack the Persians. "Me," he exclaimed, "who am your brother, and who have done nothing worthy of chains, you have most basely kept bound in a dungeon; but on the Persians, who would afford you an easy victory, and who mean to drive you into exile, you dare not take revenge. If your fears prevent you, give me your auxiliary troops, who am equally disposed to punish them for coming here, and to expel you also from our island."

CXLVI. To this discourse Mæandrius gave a favourable ear, not, I believe, that he was absurd enough to imagine himself equal to a contest with the forces of the king, but from a spirit of envy against Syloson, and to prevent his receiving the government of Samos without trouble or exertion. He wished, by irritating the Persians, to debilitate the power of Samos, and then to deliver it into their hands; for he well knew that the Persians would resent whatever insults they might receive, upon the Samians, and as to himself he was certain that whenever he pleased he could depart unmolested, for he had provided a secret path, which led immediately from the citadel to the sea, by which he afterwards escaped. In the meanwhile Charileus, having armed the auxiliaries, opened the gates, and sallied forth to attack the Persians, who, so far from expecting any thing of the kind, believed that a truce had been agreed upon, and was then in force. Upon these Persians, who were sitting at their ease, and who

were persons of distinction, the Samians sallied, and put them to death; the rest of the troops, however, soon came to their assistance, by whom the party of Charileus was repulsed, and again obliged to seek shelter in the citadel.

CXLVII. Otanes, the commander-in-chief, had hitherto observed the orders of Darius, not to put any Samian to death, or to take any prisoners, but to deliver the island to Syloson, secure and without injury: but seeing so great a slaughter of his countrymen, his indignation prevailed, and he ordered his soldiers to put every Samian they could meet with to death, without any distinction of age. Part of his forces immediately blockaded the citadel, whilst another part were putting the inhabitants to the sword, not suffering the sacred places to afford any protection.

CXLVIII. Mæandrius, leaving Samos, sailed to Lacedæmon. On his arrival there with his wealth, he set in order his goblets of gold and silver, and directed his servants to clean them. Having entered into conversation with Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, the king of Sparta, he invited him to his house. Cleomenes saw his plate, and was struck with astonishment. Mæandrius desired him to accept of what he pleased, but Cleomenes was a man of the strictest probity, and although Mæandrius persisted in importuning him to take something, he would by no means consent; but hearing that some of his fellow-citizens had received presents from Mæandrius, he went to the ephori, and gave it as his opinion, that it would be better for the interests of Sparta to expel this Samian from the Peloponnese, lest either he himself, or any other Spartan, should be corrupted by him. The advice of Cleomenes was generally approved, and Mæandrius received a public order to depart.

CXLIX. When the Persians had taken the Samians as in a net, they delivered the island to Syloson almost without an inhabitant. After a certain interval, however, Otanes, the Persian general, repeopled it, on account of some vision which he had, as well as from a disorder which seized his privities.

CL. Whilst the expedition against Samos was on

foot, the Babylonians, being very well prepared, revolted. During the reign of the magus, and whilst the seven were engaged in their conspiracy against him, they had taken advantage of the confusion of the times to provide against a siege, and their exertions had never been discovered. When they had once resolved on the recovery of their liberties, they took this measure:—Excepting their mothers, every man chose from his family the female whom he liked best, the remainder were all of them assembled together and strangled. Their reserve of one woman was to bake their bread; the rest were destroyed to prevent a famine.

CLI. On the first intelligence of this event, Darius assembled his forces, and marched against them: on his arrival before the city, he besieged it in form. This, however, made so little impression upon them, that they assembled upon the ramparts, amused themselves with dancing, and treated Darius and his army with the extremest contempt. One among them exclaimed, "Persians, why do you lose your time? if you be wise, depart. When mules produce young, you shall take Babylon." This was the speech of a Babylonian, not believing such a thing possible.

CLII. A whole year and seven months having been consumed before the place, Darius and his army began to be hopeless with respect to the event. They had applied all the offensive engines, and every stratagem, particularly those which Cyrus had before successfully used against the Babylonians; but every attempt proved ineffectual, from the unremitting vigilance of the besieged.

CLIII. In the twentieth month of the siege, the following remarkable prodigy happened to Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven that dethroned the magus: one of the mules employed to carry his provisions produced a young one; which, when it was first told him, he disbelieved, and desired to see it; forbidding those who had witnessed the fact to disclose it, he revolved it seriously in his mind; and remembering the words of the Babylonian, who had said the city should be taken when a mule brought

forth, he from this conceived that Babylon was not impregnable. The prophecy itself, and the mule's having a young one, seemed to indicate something supernatural.

CLIV. Having satisfied himself that Babylon might be taken, he went to Darius, and inquired if the capture of this city was of particular importance to him. Hearing that it really was, he began to think how he might have the honour of effecting it by himself: for in Persia there is no more certain road to greatness, than by the performance of illustrious actions. He conceived there was no more probable means of obtaining his end, than first to mutilate himself, and thus pass over to the enemy. He made no scruple to wound himself beyond the power of being healed, for he cut off his nose and his ears, and clipping his hair close, so as to give it a mean appearance, he scourged himself, and in this condition presented himself before Darius.

CLV. When the king beheld a man of his illustrious rank in so deplorable a condition, he instantly leaped in anger from his throne, and asked who had dared to treat him with such barbarity? Zopyrus made this reply, "No man, Sir, except yourself, could have this power over my person: I alone have thus disfigured my body, which I was prompted to do from vexation at beholding the Assyrians thus mock us." "Wretched man," answered the king, "do you endeavour to disguise the shameful action you have perpetrated under an honourable name? Do you suppose that because you have thus deformed yourself, the enemy will the sooner surrender? I fear what you have done has been occasioned by some defect of your reason." "Sir," answered Zopyrus, "if I had previously disclosed to you my intentions, you would have prevented their accomplishment; my present situation is the result of my own determination only. If you do not fail me, Babylon is our own. I propose to go, in the condition in which you see me, as a deserter to the Babylonians: it is my hope to persuade them that I have suffered these cruelties from you, and that they will, in consequence, give me some place of military

trust. Do you, on the tenth day after my departure, detach to the gate of Semiramis a thousand men of your army, whose loss will be of no consequence; at an interval of seven days more, send to the Ninian gates other two thousand; again, after twenty days, let another party, to the number of four thousand, be ordered to the Chaldean gates, but let none of these detachments have any weapons but their swords; after this last-mentioned period, let your whole army advance, and surround the walls. Be careful that Persians are stationed at the Belidian and Cissian gates. I think that the Babylonians, after witnessing my exploits in the field, will intrust me with the keys of those gates. Doubt not but the Persians, with my aid, will then accomplish the rest."

CLVI. After giving these injunctions, he proceeded towards the gates; and, to be consistent in the character which he assumed, he frequently stopped to look behind him. The sentinels on the watch-towers, observing this, ran down to the gate, which, opening a little, they inquired who he was, and what he wanted? When he told them his name was Zopyrus, and that he had deserted from the Persians, they conducted him before their magistrates. He then began a miserable tale of the injuries he had suffered from Darius, for no other reason but that he had advised him to withdraw his army, seeing no likelihood of his taking the city. "And now," says he, "men of Babylon, I come a friend to you, but a fatal enemy to Darius and his army. I am well acquainted with all his designs, and his treatment of me shall not be unrevenged."

CLVII. When the Babylonians beheld a Persian of such high rank deprived of his ears and nose, and covered with wounds and blood, they entertained no doubts of his sincerity, or of the friendliness of his intentions towards them. They were prepared to accede to all that he desired; and on his requesting a military command, they gave it him without hesitation. He then proceeded to the execution of what he had concerted with Darius. On the tenth day, at the head of some Babylonian troops, he made a sally from the town, and encountering the Persians who had been

stationed for this purpose by Darius, he put every one of them to death. The Babylonians, observing that his actions corresponded with his professions, were full of exultation, and were ready to yield him the most implicit obedience. A second time, at the head of a chosen detachment of the besieged, he advanced from the town at the time appointed, and slew the two thousand soldiers of Darius. The joy of the citizens at this second exploit was so extreme, that the name of Zopyrus resounded with praise from every tongue. The third time also, after the number of days agreed upon had passed, he led forth his troops, attacked and slaughtered the four thousand. Zopyrus, after this, was every thing with the Babylonians, so that they made him the commander of their army, and guardian of their walls.

CLVIII. At the time appointed, Darius advanced with all his forces to the walls. The perfidy of Zopyrus then became apparent; for as soon as the Babylonians mounted the wall to repel the Persian assault, he immediately opened to his countrymen what are called the Belidian and Cissian gates. Those Babylonians who saw this transaction fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; they who saw it not, continued in their posts, till the circumstance of their being betrayed became notorious to all.

CLIX. Thus was Babylon a second time taken. As soon as Darius became master of the place, he levelled the walls, and took away the gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done before. He ordered three thousand of the most distinguished nobility to be crucified: the rest were suffered to continue where they were. He took care also to provide them with women, for the Babylonians, as we have before remarked, to prevent a famine, had strangled their wives. Darius ordered the neighbouring nations to send females to Babylon, each being obliged to furnish a stipulated number. These in all amounted to fifty thousand, from whom the Babylonians of the present day are descended.

CLX. With respect to the merit of Zopyrus, in the opinion of Darius, it was exceeded by no Persian of

any period, unless by Cyrus; to him, indeed, he thought no one of his countrymen could possibly be compared. It is affirmed of Darius, that he used frequently to assert, that he would rather Zopyrus had suffered no injury, than have been master of twenty Babylons. He rewarded him magnificently: every year he presented him with the gifts deemed most honourable in Persia; he made him also governor of Babylon for life, free from the payment of any tribute, and to these he added other marks of liberality. Megabyzus, who commanded in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies, was a son of this Zopyrus; which Megabyzus had a son named Zopyrus, who deserted from the Persians to the Athenians.



HERODOTUS.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE.

CHAPTER I.

DARIUS, after the capture of Babylon, undertook an expedition against Scythia. Asia was now both populous and rich, and he was desirous of avenging on the Scythians, the injuries they had formerly committed, by entering Media, and defeating those who opposed them. During a period of twenty-eight years, the Scythians, as I have before remarked, retained the sovereignty of the Upper Asia; entering into which, when in pursuit of the Cimmerians, they expelled the Medes, its ancient possessors. After this long absence from their country, the Scythians were desirous to return, but here as great a labour awaited them, as they had experienced in their expedition into Media; for the women, deprived so long of their husbands, had connected themselves with their slaves, and they found a numerous body in arms ready to dispute their progress.

II. It is a custom with the Scythians to deprive all their slaves of sight, on account of the milk, which is their customary drink. They have a particular kind of bone, shaped like a flute: this is applied to the private parts of a mare, and blown into from the mouth. It is one man's office to blow, another's to milk the mare. Their idea is, that, the veins of the animal being thus inflated, the dugs are proportionably filled. When the milk is thus obtained, they place it in deep wooden vessels, and the slaves are directed to keep it in continual agitation. Of this, that which remains at top is most esteemed, what subsides is of inferior

value. This it is which induces the Scythians to deprive all their captives of sight, for they do not cultivate the ground, but lead a pastoral life.

III. From the union of these slaves with the Scythian women, a numerous progeny was born, who, when informed of their origin, readily advanced to oppose those who were returning from Media. Their first exertion was to intersect the country by a large and deep trench, which extended from the mountains of Tauris, to the Palus Mæotis. They then encamped opposite to the Scythians, who were endeavouring to effect their passage. Various engagements ensued, in which the Scythians obtained no advantage. "My countrymen," at length one of them exclaimed, "what are we doing? In this contest with our slaves, every action diminishes our number, and by killing those who oppose us, the value of victory decreases: let us throw aside our darts and our arrows, and rush upon them only with the whips which we use for our horses. Whilst they see us with arms, they think themselves our equals in birth and importance; but as soon as they shall perceive the whip in our hands, they will be impressed with the sense of their servile condition, and resist no longer."

IV. The Scythians approved the advice; their opponents forgot their former exertions, and fled: in this manner the Scythians obtained the sovereignty of Asia; and thus, after having been expelled by the Medes, they returned to their country. From the above motives, Darius, eager for revenge, prepared to lead an army against them.

V. The Scythians affirm of their country that it was of all others the last formed, which happened in this manner; when this region was in its original and desert state, the first inhabitant was named Targitaus, a son, as they say, (but which to me seems incredible) of Jupiter, by a daughter of the Borysthenes. This Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and lastly Colaxais. Whilst they possessed the country, there fell from heaven into the Scythian district a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a goblet, all of gold. The eldest of the brothers was the first who saw them;

who, running to take them, was burnt by the gold. On his retiring, the second brother approached, and was burnt also. When these two had been repelled by the burning gold, last of all the youngest brother advanced; upon him the gold had no effect, and he carried it to his house. The two elder brothers, observing what had happened, resigned all authority to the youngest.

VI. From Lipoxais those Scythians were descended who are termed the Auchatæ; from Arpoxais, the second brother, those who are called the Catiari and the Traspies; from the youngest, who was king, came the Paralatæ. Generally speaking, these people are named Scoloti, from a surname of their king, but the Greeks call them Scythians.

VII. This is the account which the Scythians give of their origin; and they add, that from their first king Targitaus, to the invasion of their country by Darius, is a period of a thousand years, and no more. The sacred gold is preserved by their kings with the greatest care; and every year there are solemn sacrifices, at which the prince assists. They have a tradition, that if the person who has the custody of this gold, sleeps in the open air during the time of their annual festival, he dies before the end of the year; for this reason they give him as much land as he can pass over on horseback in the course of a day. As this region is extensive, king Colaxais divided the country into three parts, which he gave to three sons, making that portion the largest in which the gold was deposited. As to the district which lies farther to the north, and beyond the extreme inhabitants of the country, they say that it neither can be passed, nor yet discerned with the eye, on account of the feathers which are continually falling: with these both the earth and the air are so filled, as effectually to obstruct the view.

VIII. Such is the manner in which the Scythians describe themselves and the country beyond them. The Greeks who inhabit Pontus speak of both as follows: Hercules, when he was driving away the heifers of Geryon, came to this region, now inhabited by the

Scythians, but which then was a desert. This Geryon lived beyond Pontus, in an island which the Greeks call Erythia, near Gades, which is situate in the ocean, and beyond the Columns of Hercules. The ocean, they say, commencing at the east, flows round all the earth; this, however, they affirm, without proving it. Hercules coming from thence, arrived at this country, now called Scythia, where, finding himself overtaken by a severe storm, and being exceedingly cold, he wrapped himself up in his lion's skin, and went to sleep. They add, that his mares, which he had detached from his chariot to feed, by some divine interposition disappeared during his sleep.

IX. As soon as he awoke, he wandered over all the country in search of his mares, till at length he came to the district which is called Hylæa: there in a cave he discovered a female of most unnatural appearance, resembling a woman as far as the thighs, but whose lower parts were like a serpent. Hercules beheld her with astonishment, but he was not deterred from asking her whether she had seen his mares? She made answer, that they were in her custody; she refused, however, to restore them, but upon condition of his cohabiting with her. The terms proposed induced Hercules to consent; but she still deferred restoring his mares, from the wish of retaining him longer with her, whilst Hercules was equally anxious to obtain them and depart. After a while she restored them with these words: "Your mares, which wandered here, I have preserved; you have paid what was due to my care, I have conceived by you three sons; I wish you to say how I shall dispose of them hereafter; whether I shall detain them here, where I am the sole sovereign, or whether I shall send them to you." The reply of Hercules was to this effect: "As soon as they shall be grown up to man's estate, observe this, and you cannot err; whichever of them you shall see bend this bow, and wear this belt as I do, him detain in this country: the others, who shall not be able to do this, you may send away. By minding what I say, you will have pleasure yourself, and will satisfy my wishes."

X. Having said this, Hercules took one of his bows, for thus far he had carried two, and showing her also his belt, at the end of which a golden cup was suspended, he gave her them, and departed. As soon as the boys of whom she was delivered grew up, she called the eldest Agathyrus, the second Gelonus, and the youngest Scytha. She remembered also the injunctions she had received; and two of her sons, Agathyrus and Gelonus, who were incompetent to the trial which was proposed, were sent away by their mother from this country. Scytha the youngest was successful in his exertions, and remained. From this Scytha, the son of Hercules, the Scythian monarchs are descended; and from the golden cup the Scythians to this day have a cup at the end of their belts.

XI. This is the story which the Greek inhabitants of Pontus relate; but there is also another, to which I am more inclined to assent:—the Scythian Nomades of Asia, having been harassed by the Massagetæ in war, passed the Araxis, and settled in Cimmeria; for it is to be observed, that the country now possessed by the Scythians belonged formerly to the Cimmerians. This people, when attacked by the Scythians, deliberated what it was most advisable to do against the inroad of so vast a multitude. Their sentiments were divided; both were violent, but that of the kings appears preferable. The people were of opinion, that it would be better not to hazard an engagement, but to retreat in security; the kings were at all events for resisting the enemy. Neither party would recede from their opinions, the people and the princes mutually refusing to yield; the people wished to retire before the invaders, the princes determined rather to die where they were, reflecting upon what they had enjoyed before, and alarmed by the fears of future calamities. From verbal disputes they soon came to actual engagement, and they happened to be nearly equal in number. All those who perished by the hands of their countrymen were buried by the Cimmerians near the river Tyré, where their monuments may still be seen. The survivors fled from their country,

which in its abandoned state was seized and occupied by the Scythians.

XII. There are still to be found in Scythia walls and bridges which are termed Cimmerian; the same name is also given to a whole district, as well as to a narrow sea. It is certain that when the Cimmerians were expelled their country by the Scythians, they fled to the Asiatic Chersonese, where the Greek city of Sinopé is at present situated. It is also apparent, that, whilst engaged in the pursuit, the Scythians deviated from their proper course, and entered Media. The Cimmerians in their flight kept uniformly by the sea-coast; but the Scythians, having Mount Caucasus to their right, continued the pursuit, till by following an inland direction they entered Media.

XIII. There is still another account, which has obtained credit both with the Greeks and barbarians. Aristeas the poet, a native of Proconnesus, and son of Caustrobius, relates, that under the influence of Apollo he came to the Issedones, that beyond this people he found the Arimaspi, a nation who have but one eye; farther on were the Gryphins, the guardians of the gold; and beyond these the Hyperboreans, who possess the whole country quite to the sea, and that all these nations, except the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbours. Of these hostilities the Arimaspians were the first authors, for they drove out the Issedones, who did the same to the Scythians: the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who possessed the country towards the south, to abandon their native land. Thus it appears, that the narrative of Aristeas differs also from that of the Scythians.

XIV. Of what country the relater of the above account was, we have already seen; but I ought not to omit what I have heard of this personage, both at Proconnesus and Cyzicus. It is said of this Aristeas, that he was of one of the best families of his country, and that he died in the workshop of a fuller, into which he had accidentally gone. The fuller immediately secured his shop, and went to inform the rela-

tions of the deceased of what had happened. The report having circulated through the city, that Aristeas was dead, there came a man of Cyzicus, of the city of Artaces, who affirmed that this assertion was false, for that he had met Aristeas going to Cyzicus, and had spoken with him. In consequence of his positive assertions, the friends of Aristeas hastened to the fuller's shop with every thing which was necessary for his funeral, but when they came there, no Aristeas was to be found, alive or dead. Seven years afterwards it is said that he re-appeared at Proconnesus, and composed those verses which the Greeks call Arimasian; after which he vanished a second time.

XV. This is the manner in which these cities speak of Aristeas: but I am about to relate a circumstance which to my own knowledge happened to the Metapontines of Italy, three hundred and forty years after Aristeas had a second time disappeared, according to my conjecture, as it agrees with what I heard at Proconnesus and Metapontus. The inhabitants of this latter place affirm, that Aristeas, having appeared in their city, directed them to construct an altar to Apollo, and near it a statue to Aristeas of Proconnesus. He told them that they were the only people of Italy whom Apollo had ever honoured by his presence, and that he himself had attended the god under the form of a crow: having said this, he disappeared. The Metapontines relate, that in consequence of this they sent to Delphi, to inquire what that unnatural appearance might mean; the Pythian told them in reply, to perform what had been directed, for that they would find their obedience rewarded; they obeyed accordingly, and there now stands near the statue of Apollo himself, another bearing the name of Aristeas: it is placed in the public square of the city, surrounded with laurels.

XVI. Thus much of Aristeas. No certain knowledge is to be obtained of the places which lie remotely beyond the country of which I before spake: on this subject I could not meet with any person able to speak from his own knowledge. Aristeas above-

mentioned confesses, in the poem which he wrote, that he did not penetrate beyond the Issedones : and that what he related of the countries more remote, he learned of the Issedones themselves. For my own part, all the intelligence which the most assiduous researches, and the greatest attention to authenticity, have been able to procure, shall be faithfully related.

XVII. As we advance from the port of the Borysthenites, which is unquestionably the centre of all the maritime parts of Scythia, the first people who are met with are the Callipidæ, who are Greek Scythians : beyond these is another nation, called the Halizones. These two people in general observe the customs of the Scythians, except that for food they sow corn, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Beyond the Halizones dwell some Scythian husbandmen, who sow corn not to eat, but for sale. Still more remote are the Neuri, whose country towards the north, as far as I have been able to learn, is totally uninhabited. All these nations dwell near the river Hypanis, to the west of the Borysthenes.

XVIII. Having crossed the Borysthenes, the first country towards the sea is Hylæa, contiguous to which are some Scythian husbandmen, who call themselves Olbiopolitæ, but who, by the Greeks living near the Hypanis, are called Borysthenites. The country possessed by these Scythians towards the east is the space of a three days' journey, as far as the river Panticapes ; to the north, their lands extend to the amount of an eleven days' voyage along the Borysthenes. The space beyond this is a vast inhospitable desert ; and remoter still are the Androphagi, or men-eaters, a separate nation, and by no means Scythian. As we pass farther from these, the country is altogether desert, not containing, to our knowledge, any inhabitants.

XIX. To the east of these Scythians, who are husbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, are the Scythian Nomades or shepherds, who are totally unacquainted with agriculture : except Hylæa, all this country is naked of trees. These Nomades inhabit a

district to the extent of a fourteen days' journey towards the east, as far as the river Gerrhus.

XX. Beyond the Gerrhus is situate what is termed the royal province of Scythia, possessed by the more numerous part and the noblest of the Scythians, who consider all the rest of their countrymen as their slaves. From the south they extend to Tauris, and from the east as far as the trench which was sunk by the descendants of the blinded slaves, and again as far as the port of the Palus Mæotis, called Chemni, and indeed many of them are spread as far as the Tanais. Beyond these, to the north, live the Melanchlæni, another nation who are not Scythians. Beyond the Melanchlæni the lands are low and marshy, and as we believe entirely uninhabited.

XXI. Beyond the Tanais the region of Scythia terminates, and the first nation we meet with are the Sauromatæ, who, commencing at the remote parts of the Palus Mæotis, inhabit a space to the north, equal to a fifteen days' journey; the country is totally destitute of trees, both wild and uncultivated. Beyond these are the Budini, who are husbandmen, and in whose country trees are found in great abundance.

XXII. To the north, beyond the Budini, is an immense desert of eight days' journey; passing which to the east are the Thyssagetæ, a singular but populous nation, who support themselves by hunting. Contiguous to these, in the same region, are a people called Iyræ; they also live by the chase, which they thus pursue:—having ascended the tops of the trees, which every where abound, they watch for their prey. Each man has a horse, instructed to lie close to the ground, that it may not be seen; they have each also a dog. As soon as the man from the tree discovers his game, he wounds it with an arrow, then mounting his horse he pursues it, followed by his dog. Advancing from this people still nearer to the east, we again meet with Scythians, who having seceded from the Royal Scythians, established themselves here.

XXIII. As far as these Scythians, the whole country is flat, and the soil excellent; beyond them it becomes barren and stony. After travelling over a

considerable space, a people are found living at the foot of some lofty mountains, who, both male and female, are said to be bald from their birth, having large chins, and nostrils like the ape species. They have a language of their own, but their dress is Scythian; they live chiefly upon the produce of a tree which is called the ponticus; it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean: when it is ripe they press it through a cloth; it produces a thick black liquor, which they call aschy; this they drink, mixing it with milk; the grosser parts which remain they form into balls and eat. They have but few cattle, from the want of proper pasturage. Each man dwells under his tree; this during the winter they cover with a thick white cloth, which in the summer is removed; they live unmolested by any one, being considered as sacred, and having among them no offensive weapon. Their neighbours apply to them for decision in matters of private controversy; and whoever seeks an asylum amongst them is secure from injury. They are called the Argippæi.

XXIV. As far as these people who are bald, the knowledge of the country and intermediate nations is clear and satisfactory; it may be obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them, from the Greeks of the port on the Borysthenes, and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As these nations have seven different languages, the Scythians who communicate with them have occasion for as many interpreters.

XXV. Beyond these Argippæi, no certain intelligence is to be had, a chain of lofty and inaccessible mountains precluding all discovery. The people who are bald assert, what I can by no means believe, that these mountains are inhabited by men, who in their lower parts resemble a goat; and that beyond these are a race who sleep away six months of the year: neither does this seem at all more probable. To the east of the Argippæi it is beyond all doubt that the country is possessed by the Issedones; but beyond them to the north neither the Issedones nor the Argippæi know any thing more than I have already related.

XXVI. The Issedones have these, among other customs:—as often as any one loses his father, his relations severally provide some cattle; these they kill, and having cut them in pieces, they dismember also the body of the deceased, and, mixing the whole together, feast upon it; the head alone is preserved; from this they carefully remove the hair, and cleansing it thoroughly, set it in gold: it is afterwards esteemed sacred, and produced in their solemn annual sacrifices. Every man observes the above rites in honour of his father, as the Greeks do theirs in memory of the dead. In other respects it is said that they venerate the principles of justice; and that their females enjoy equal authority with the men.

XXVII. The Issedones themselves affirm, that the country beyond them is inhabited by a race of men who have but one eye, and by Gryphins who are guardians of the gold. Such is the information which the Scythians have from the Issedones, and we from the Scythians; in the Scythian tongue they are called Arimaspians, from Arima, the Scythian word for one, and spu, an eye.

XXVIII. Through all the region of which we have been speaking, the winter season, which continues for eight months, is intolerably severe and cold. At this time if water be poured upon the ground, unless it be near a fire, it will not make clay. The sea itself, and all the Cimmerian Bosphorus, is congealed; and the Scythians who live within the trench before-mentioned make hostile incursions upon the ice, and penetrate with their wagons as far as Sindica. During eight months the climate is thus severe, and the remaining four are sufficiently cold. In this region the winter is by no means the same as in other climates; for at this time, when it rains abundantly elsewhere, it here scarcely rains at all, whilst in the summer the rains are incessant. At the season when thunder is common in other places, here it is never heard, but during the summer it is very heavy. If it be ever known to thunder in the winter, it is considered as ominous. If earthquakes happen in Scythia, in either season of the year, it is thought a prodigy. Their

horses are able to bear the extremest severity of the climate, which the asses and mules frequently cannot; though in other regions the cold which destroys the former has little effect upon the latter.

XXIX. This circumstance of their climate seems to explain the reason why their cattle are without horns; and Homer in the *Odyssey* has a line which confirms my opinion:—"And Libya, where the sheep have always horns;" which is as much as to say, that in warm climates horns will readily grow; but in places which are extremely cold they either will not grow at all, or are always diminutive.

XXX. The peculiarities of Scythia are thus explained from the coldness of the climate; but as I have accustomed myself from the commencement of this history to deviate occasionally from my subject, I cannot here avoid expressing my surprise, that the district of Elis never produces mules; yet the air is by no means cold. nor can any other satisfactory reason be assigned. The inhabitants themselves believe that their not possessing mules is the effect of some curse. When their mares require the male, the Eléans take them out of the limits of their own territories, and there suffer asses to cover them; when they have conceived, they return.

XXXI. Concerning those feathers, which, as the Scythians say, so cloud the atmosphere that they cannot penetrate, nor even discern what lies beyond them, my opinion is this:—in those remoter regions there is a perpetual fall of snow, which, as may be supposed, is less in summer than in winter. Whoever observes snow falling continually, will easily conceive what I say; for it has a great resemblance to feathers. These regions, therefore, which are thus situated remotely to the north, are uninhabitable from the unremitting severity of the climate; and the Scythians, with the neighbouring nations, mistake the snow for feathers. But on this subject I have said quite enough.

XXXII. Of the Hyperboreans neither the Scythians nor any of the neighbouring people, the Issedones alone excepted, have any knowledge; and indeed

what they say merits but little attention. The Scythians speak of these as they do of the Arimaspians. It must be confessed that Hesiod mentions these Hyperboreans, as Homer also does in the *Epigonoï*, if he was really the author of those verses.

XXXIII. On this subject of the Hyperboreans, the Delians are more communicative. They affirm, that some sacred offerings of this people, carefully folded in straw, were given to the Scythians, from whom descending regularly through every contiguous nation, they arrived at length at the Adriatic. From hence, transported towards the south, they were first of all received by the Dodoneans of Greece; from them again they were transmitted to the gulf of Melis; whence passing into Eubœa, they were sent from one town to another, till they arrived at Carystus; not stopping at Andros, the Carystians carried them to Tenos, the Tenians to Delos; at which place the Delians affirm they came as we have related. They farther observe, that to bring these offerings the Hyperboreans sent two young women, whose names were Hyperoche and Laodice: five of their countrymen accompanied them as a guard, who were held in great veneration at Delos, and called the *Peripheres*. As these men never returned, the Hyperboreans were greatly offended, and took the following method to prevent a repetition of this evil:—they carried to their frontiers their offerings, folded in barley-straw, and committing them to the care of their neighbours, directed them to forward them progressively, till, as is reported, they thus arrived at Delos. This singularity observed by the Hyperboreans is practised, as I myself have seen, amongst the women of Thrace and Pæonia, who in their sacrifices to the regal Diana make use of barley-straw.

XXXIV. In honour of the Hyperborean virgins who died at Delos, the Delian youth of both sexes celebrate certain rites, in which they cut off their hair; this ceremony is observed by virgins previous to their marriage, who, having deprived themselves of their hair, wind it round a spindle, and place it on the tomb. This stands in the vestibule of the temple of

Diana, on the left side of the entrance, and is shaded by an olive, which grows there naturally. The young men of Delos wind some of their hair round a certain herb, and place it on the tomb. Such are the honours which the Delians pay to these virgins.

XXXV. The Delians add, that in the same age, and before the arrival of Hyperoche and Laodice at Delos, two other Hyperborean virgins came there, whose names were Argis and Opis; their object was to bring an offering to Lucina, in acknowledgment of the happy delivery of their females; but that Argis and Opis were accompanied by the deities themselves. They are, therefore, honoured with other solemn rites. The women assemble together, and in a hymn composed for the occasion by Olen of Lycia, they call on the names of Argis and Opis. Instructed by these, the islanders and Ionians hold similar assemblies, introducing the same two names in their hymns. This Olen was a native of Lycia, who composed other ancient hymns in use at Delos. When the thighs of the victims are consumed on the altar, the ashes are collected and scattered over the tomb of Opis and Argis. This tomb is behind the temple of Diana, facing the east, and near the place where the Ceians celebrate their festivals.

XXXVI. Concerning these Hyperboreans, we have spoken sufficiently at large, for the story of Abaris, who was said to be a Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without food, and carried on an arrow, merits no attention. As there are Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the extreme parts of the north, one would suppose there ought also to be Hypernotians, or inhabitants of the corresponding parts of the south. For my own part, I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the circumference of the earth, pretending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth; that the earth is round, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe. I will, therefore, concisely describe the figure and the size of each of these portions of the earth.

XXXVII. The region occupied by the Persians extends southward to the Red Sea; beyond these to the north are the Medes, next to them are the Sapi-rians. Contiguous to the Sapi-rians, and where the Phasis empties itself into the Northern Sea, are the Colchians. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas.

XXXVIII. From hence to the west two tracts of land stretch themselves towards the sea, which I shall describe: the one on the north side commences at the Phasis, and extends to the sea along the Euxine and the Hellespont, as far as the Sigeum of Troy. On the south side it begins at the bay of Margandius, contiguous to Phœnicia, and is continued to the sea as far as the Triopian promontory; this space of country is inhabited by thirty different nations.

XXXIX. The other district commences in Persia, and is continued to the Red Sea. Besides Persia, it comprehends Assyria and Arabia, naturally terminating in the Arabian Gulf, into which Darius introduced a channel of the Nile. The interval from Persia to Phœnicia is very extensive. From Phœnicia it again continues beyond Syria of Palestine, as far as Egypt, where it terminates. The whole of this region is occupied by three nations only. Such is the division of Asia from Persia westward.

XL. To the east beyond Persia, Media, the Sapi-rians and Colchians, the country is bounded by the Red Sea; to the north by the Caspian and the river Araxas, which directs its course towards the east. As far as India, Asia is well inhabited; but from India eastward the whole country is one vast desert, unknown and unexplored.

XLI. The second tract comprehends Libya, which begins where Egypt ends. About Egypt the country is very narrow, One hundred thousand orgyæ, or one thousand stadia, comprehend the space between this and the Red Sea. Here the country expands, and takes the name of Libya.

XLII. I am much surprised at those who have divided and defined the limits of Libya, Asia, and Europe, betwixt which the difference is far from small.

Europe, for instance, in length much exceeds the other two, but is of far inferior breadth: except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia, the whole of Libya is surrounded by the sea. The first person who has proved this, was, as far we are able to judge, Necho king of Egypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, he despatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Egypt. These Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean: on the approach of autumn they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed, that having sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand. Thus was Libya for the first time known.

XLIII. If the Carthaginian account may be credited, Sataspes, son of Teaspes, of the race of the Achæmenides, received a commission to circumnavigate Libya, which he never executed: alarmed by the length of the voyage, and the solitary appearance of the country, he returned without accomplishing the task enjoined him by his mother. This man had committed violence on a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, for which offence Xerxes had ordered him to be crucified; but the influence of his mother, who was sister to Darius, saved his life. She avowed, however, that it was her intention to inflict a still severer punishment upon him, by obliging him to sail round Libya, till he should arrive at the Arabian Gulf. To this Xerxes assented, and Sataspes accordingly departed for Egypt; he here embarked with his crew, and proceeded to the columns of Hercules; passing these, he doubled the promontory which is called Syloes, keeping a southern course. Continuing his

voyage for several months, in which he passed over an immense tract of sea, he saw no probable termination of his labours, and therefore sailed back to Egypt. Returning to the court of Xerxes, he amongst other things related, that in the most remote places he had visited he had seen a people of diminutive appearance, clothed in red garments, who on the approach of his vessel to the shore, had deserted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, satisfied with taking a supply of provisions, offered them no violence. He denied the possibility of his making the circuit of Libya, as his vessel was totally unable to proceed. Xerxes gave no credit to his assertions; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms imposed upon him, he was executed according to his former sentence. An eunuch belonging to this Sataspes, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to Samos, but he was there robbed of his property by a native of the place, whose name I know, but forbear to mention.

XLIV. A very considerable part of Asia was first discovered by Darius. He was extremely desirous of ascertaining where the Indus meets the ocean, the only river but one in which crocodiles are found; to effect this, he sent, among other men in whom he could confide, Scylax of Caryandia. Departing from Caspatyrus in the Pactyian territories, they followed the eastern course of the river, till they came to the sea; then sailing westward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the very point from whence, as I have before related, the Egyptian prince despatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Libya. After this voyage Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean: whence it appears that Asia in all its parts, except those more remotely to the east, entirely resembles Libya.

XLV. It is certain that Europe has not hitherto been carefully examined; it is by no means determined whether to the east and north it is limited by the ocean. In length it unquestionably exceeds the two other divisions of the earth; but I am far from satisfied why to one continent three different names, taken

from women, have been assigned. To one of these divisions some have given as a boundary the Egyptian Nile, and the Colchian Phasis; others the Tanais, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis. The names of those who have thus distinguished the earth, or the first occasion of their different appellations, I have never been able to learn. Libya is, by many of the Greeks, said to have been so named from Libya, a woman of the country; and Asia from the wife of Prometheus. The Lydians contradict this, and affirm that Asia was so called from Asias, a son of Cotys, and grandson of Manis, and not from the wife of Prometheus; to confirm this, they adduce the name of a tribe at Sardis, called the Asian tribe. It has certainly never been ascertained, whether Europe be surrounded by the ocean: it is a matter of equal uncertainty, whence or from whom it derives its name. We cannot willingly allow that it took its name from the Syrian Europa, though we know that, like the other two, it was formerly without any. We are well assured that Europa was an Asiatic, and that she never saw the region which the Greeks now call Europe; she only went from Phœnicia to Crete, from Crete to Lycia. I shall now quit this subject, upon which I have given the opinions generally received.

XLVI. Except Scythia, the countries of the Euxine, against which Darius undertook an expedition, are of all others the most barbarous; among the people who dwell within these limits, we have found no individual of superior learning and accomplishments, but Anacharsis the Scythian. Even of the Scythian nation I cannot in general speak with extraordinary commendation; they have, however, one observance, which for its wisdom excels every thing I have met with. The possibility of escape is cut off from those who attack them; and if they are averse to be seen, their places of retreat can never be discovered: for they have no towns nor fortified cities, their habitations they constantly carry along with them, their bows and arrows they manage on horseback, and they support themselves not by agriculture, but by their cattle; their constant abode may be said to be in their

wagons. How can a people so circumstanced afford the means of victory, or even of attack?

XLVII. Their particular mode of life may be imputed partly to the situation of their country, and the advantage they derive from their rivers; their lands are well watered, and well adapted for pasturage. The number of rivers is almost equal to the channels of the Nile; the more celebrated of them, and those which are navigable to the sea, I shall enumerate; they are these: the Danube, having five mouths, the Tyres, the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, Panticapes, Hypacryis, Gerrhus, and the Tanaïs.

XLVIII. No river of which we have any knowledge is so vast as the Danube; it is always of the same depth, experiencing no variation from summer or from winter. It is the first river of Scythia to the east, and it is the greatest of all, for it is swelled by the influx of many others: there are five which particularly contribute to increase its size; one of these the Greeks call Pyreton, the Scythians Porata; the other four are the Tiarantus, Ararus, Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first of these rivers is of immense size; flowing towards the east, it mixes with the Danube: the second, the Tiarantus, is smaller, having an inclination to the west: betwixt these the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus have their course, and empty themselves into the Danube. These rivers have their rise in Scythia, and swell the waters of the Danube.

XLIX. The Maris also, commencing among the Agathyrsi, is emptied into the Danube, which is likewise the case with the three great rivers, Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis; these flow from the summits of Mount Hæmus, and have the same termination. Into the same river are received the waters of the Athres, Noes, and Artanes, which flow through Thrace, and the country of the Thracian Crobyzi. The Cius, which, rising in Pæonia, near Mount Rhodope, divides Mount Hæmus, is also poured into the Danube. The Angrus comes from Illyria, and with a northward course passes over the Tribalian plains, and mixes with the Brongus; the Brongus meets the Danube, which thus receives the waters of these two

great rivers. The Carpis, moreover, which rises in the country beyond the Umbrici, and the Alpis, which flows towards the north, are both lost in the Danube. Commencing with the Celtæ, who, except the Cynetæ, are the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe, this river passes directly through the centre of Europe, and by a certain inclination enters Scythia.

L. By the union of these and of many other waters, the Danube becomes the greatest of all rivers; but if one be compared with another, the preference must be given to the Nile, into which no stream nor fountain enters. The reason why in the two opposite seasons of the year, the Danube is uniformly the same, seems to me to be this: in the winter it is at its full natural height, or perhaps somewhat more, at which season there is, in the regions through which it passes, abundance of snow, but very little rain; but in the summer all this snow is dissolved, and emptied into the Danube, which together with frequent and heavy rains, greatly augment it. But in proportion as the body of its waters is thus multiplied, are the exhalations of the summer sun. The result of this action and re-action on the Danube is, that its waters are constantly of the same depth.

LI. Thus of the rivers which flow through Scythia, the Danube is the first; next to this is the Tyres, which rising in the north from an immense marsh, divides Scythia from Neuris. At the mouth of this river those Greeks live who are known by the name of the Tyritæ.

LII. The third is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, rising from an immense lake, round which are found wild white horses, and which is properly enough called the mother of the Hypanis. This river through a space of five days' journey from its first rise, is small, and its waters are sweet, but from thence to the sea, which is a journey of four days more, it becomes exceedingly bitter. This is occasioned by a small fountain, which it receives in its passage, and which is of so very bitter a quality, that it infects this river, though by no means contemptible in point of size: this fountain rises in the country of the plough-

ing Scythians, and of the Alazones. It takes the name of the place where it springs, which in the Scythian tongue is Exampæus, corresponding in Greek to the "Sacred Ways." In the district of the Alazones the streams of the Tyres and the Hypanis have an inclination towards each other, but they soon separate again to a considerable distance.

LIII. The fourth river, and the largest next to the Danube, is the Borysthenes. In my opinion this river is more fertile, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other in the world, except the Egyptian Nile. The Nile, it must be confessed, disdains all comparison; the Borysthenes nevertheless affords most agreeable and excellent pasturage, and contains great abundance of the more delicate fish. Although it flows in the midst of many turbid rivers, its waters are perfectly clear and sweet; its banks are adorned by the richest harvests, and in those places where corn is not sown the grass grows to a surprising height; at its mouth a large mass of salt is formed of itself. It produces also a species of large fish, which is called Antacæus; these, which have no prickly fins, the inhabitants salt: it possesses various other things which deserve our admiration. The course of the stream may be pursued as far as the country called Gerrhus, through a voyage of forty days, and it is known to flow from the north. But of the remoter places through which it passes, no one can speak with certainty; it seems probable that it runs toward the district of the Scythian husbandmen, through a pathless desert. For the space of a ten days' journey these Scythians inhabit its banks. The sources of this river, like those of the Nile, are to me unknown, as I believe they are to every other Greek. This river, as it approaches the sea, is joined by the Hypanis, and they have both the same termination: the neck of land betwixt these two streams is called the Hippoleon promontory, in which a temple is erected to Ceres. Beyond this temple as far as the Hypanis, dwell the Borysthenites. But on this subject enough has been said.

LIV. Next to the above, is a fifth river, called the

Panticapes; this also rises in the north, and from a lake. The interval betwixt this and the Borysthenes is possessed by the Scythian husbandmen. Having passed through Hylæa, the Panticapes mixes with the Borysthenes.

LV. The sixth river is called the Hypacyris: this, rising from a lake, and passing through the midst of the Scythian Nomades, empties itself into the sea near the town of Carcinitis. In its course it bounds to the right Hylæa, and what is called the course of Achilles.

LVI. The name of the seventh river is the Gerrhus; it takes its name from the place Gerrhus, near which it separates itself from the Borysthenes, and where this latter river is first known. In its passage toward the sea, it divides the Scythian Nomades from the Royal Scythians, and then mixes with the Hypacyris.

LVII. The eighth river is called the Tanais; rising from one immense lake, it empties itself into another still greater, named the Mæotis, which separates the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ. The Tanais is increased by the waters of another river, called the Hyrgis.

LVIII. Thus the Scythians have the advantage of all these celebrated rivers. The grass which this country produces is of all that we know the fullest of moisture, which evidently appears from the dissection of their cattle.

LIX. We have shown that this people possess the greatest abundance; their particular laws and observances are these: of their divinities, Vesta is without competition the first, then Jupiter, and Tellus, whom they believe to be the wife of Jupiter; next to these are Apollo, the Celestial Venus, Hercules, and Mars. All the Scythians revere these as deities, but the Royal Scythians pay divine rites also to Neptune. In the Scythian tongue Vesta is called Tabiti; Jupiter, and, as I think very properly, Papæus; Tellus, Apia; Apollo, Cætosyrus; the Celestial Venus, Artimpasa; and Neptune, Thamimasadas. Among all these deities Mars is the only one to whom they think it proper to erect altars, shrines, and temples.

LX. Their mode of sacrifice in every place appointed for the purpose is precisely the same, and it is this: the victim is secured with a rope, by its two fore feet; the person who offers the sacrifice, standing behind, throws the animal down by means of this rope; as it falls he invokes the name of the divinity, to whom the sacrifice is offered; he then fastens a cord round the neck of the victim, and strangles it, by winding the cord round a stick; all this is done without fire, without libations, or without any of the ceremonies in use amongst us. When the beast is strangled, the sacrificer takes off its skin, and prepares to dress it.

LXI. As Scythia is very barren of wood, they have the following contrivance to dress the flesh of the victim:—having flayed the animal, they strip the flesh from the bones, and if they have them at hand, they throw it into certain pots made in Scythia, and resembling the Lesbian caldrons, though somewhat larger; under these a fire is made with the bones. If these pots cannot be procured, they enclose the flesh with a certain quantity of water in the paunch of the victim, and make a fire with the bones as before. The bones being very inflammable, and the paunch without difficulty made to contain the flesh separated from the bone, the ox is thus made to dress itself, which is also the case with the other victims. When the whole is ready, he who sacrifices, throws down with some solemnity before him the entrails, and the more choice pieces. They sacrifice different animals, but horses in particular.

LXII. Such are the sacrifices and ceremonies observed with respect to their other deities; but to the god Mars, the particular rites which are paid are these:—in every district, they construct a temple to this divinity, of this kind; bundles of small wood are heaped together, to the length of three stadia, and quite as broad, but not so high; the top is a regular square, three of the sides are steep and broken, but the fourth is an inclined plane forming the ascent. To this place are every year brought one hundred and fifty wagons full of these bundles of wood, to

repair the structure, which the severity of the climate is apt to destroy. Upon the summit of such a pile, each Scythian tribe places an ancient cimeter, which is considered as the shrine of Mars, and is annually honoured by the sacrifice of sheep and horses; indeed more victims are offered to this deity, than to all the other divinities. It is their custom also to sacrifice every hundredth captive, but in a different manner from their other victims. Having poured libations upon their heads, they cut their throats into a vessel placed for that purpose. With this, carried to the summit of the pile, they besmear the above-mentioned cimeter. Whilst this is doing above, the following ceremony is observed below:—from these human victims they cut off the right arms close to the shoulder, and throw them up into the air. This ceremony being performed on each victim severally, they depart: the arms remain where they happen to fall, the bodies elsewhere.

LXIII. The above is a description of their sacrifices. Swine are never used for this purpose, nor will they suffer them to be kept in their country.

LXIV. Their military customs are these:—every Scythian drinks the blood of the first person he slays; the heads of all the enemies who fall by his hand in battle, he presents to his king: this offering entitles him to a share of the plunder, which he could not otherwise claim. Their mode of stripping the skin from the head is this:—they make a circular incision behind the ears, then, taking hold of the head at the top, they gradually flay it, drawing it towards them. They next soften it in their hands, removing every fleshy part which may remain, by rubbing it with an ox's hide; they afterwards suspend it, thus prepared, from the bridles of their horses, when they both use it as a napkin, and are proud of it as a trophy. Whoever possesses the greater number of these, is deemed the most illustrious. Some there are who sew together several of these portions of human skin, and convert them into a kind of shepherd's garment. There are others who preserve the skins of the right arms, nails and all, of such enemies as they kill, and use them as

a covering for their quivers. The human skin is of all others certainly the whitest, and of a very firm texture; many Scythians will take the whole skin of a man, and having stretched it upon wood, use it as a covering to their horses.

LXV. Such are the customs of this people: this treatment, however, of their enemies' heads, is not universal, it is only perpetrated on those whom they most detest. They cut off the skull below the eyebrows, and having cleansed it thoroughly, if they are poor, they merely cover it with a piece of leather; if they are rich, in addition to this, they decorate the inside with gold; it is afterwards used as a drinking cup. They do the same with respect to their nearest connexions, if any dissensions have arisen, and they overcome them in combat before the king. If any stranger whom they deem of consequence, happen to visit them, they make a display of these heads, and relate every circumstance of the previous connexion, the provocations received, and their subsequent victory: this they consider as a testimony of their valour.

LXVI. Once a year the prince or ruler of every district mixes a goblet of wine, of which those Scythians drink who have destroyed a public enemy. But of this, they who have not done such a thing are not permitted to taste; these are obliged to sit apart by themselves, which is considered as a mark of the greatest ignominy. They who have killed a number of enemies, are permitted on this occasion to drink from two cups joined together.

LXVII. They have amongst them a great number who practise the art of divination; for this purpose they use a number of willow twigs, in this manner:—they bring large bundles of these together, and having united them, dispose them one by one on the ground, each bundle at a distance from the rest. This done, they pretend to foretell the future, during which they take up the bundles separately, and tie them again together. This mode of divination is hereditary among them. The enaries, or “effeminate men,” affirm that the art of divination was taught them by

the goddess Venus. They take also the leaves of the lime-tree, which dividing into three parts, they twine round their fingers; they then unbind it, and exercise the art to which they pretend.

LXVIII. Whenever the Scythian monarch happens to be indisposed, he sends for three of the most celebrated of these diviners. When the Scythians desire to use the most solemn kind of oath, they swear by the king's throne; these diviners, therefore, make no scruple of affirming, that such or such individual, pointing him out by name, has forsworn himself by the royal throne. Immediately the person thus marked out is seized, and informed that by their art of divination, which is infallible, he has been indirectly the occasion of the king's illness, by having violated the oath which we have mentioned. If the accused not only denies the charge, but expresses himself enraged at the imputation, the king convokes a double number of diviners, who, examining into the mode which has been pursued in criminating him, decide accordingly. If he be found guilty, he immediately loses his head, and the three diviners who were first consulted, share his effects. If these last diviners acquit the accused, others are at hand, of whom if the greater number absolve him, the first diviners are put to death.

LXIX. The manner in which they are executed is this:—some oxen are yoked to a wagon filled with faggots, in the midst of which, with their feet tied, their hands fastened behind, and their mouths gagged, these diviners are placed; fire is then set to the wood, and the oxen are terrified to make them run violently away. It sometimes happens that the oxen themselves are burned; and often when the wagon is consumed, the oxen escape severely scorched. This is the method by which, for the above-mentioned or similar offences, they put to death those whom they call false diviners.

LXX. Of those whom the king condemns to death, he constantly destroys the male children, leaving the females unmolested. Whenever the Scythians form alliances, they observe these ceremonies:—a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured

some of the blood of the contracting parties, obtained by a slight incision of a knife or a sword; in this cup they dip a cimeter, some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After this they pronounce some solemn prayers, and the parties who form the contract, with such of their friends as are of superior dignity, finally drink the contents of the vessel.

LXXI. The sepulchres of the kings are in the district of the Gerrhi. As soon as the king dies, a large trench of a quadrangular form is sunk, near where the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. When this has been done, the body is inclosed in wax, after it has been thoroughly cleansed, and the entrails taken out; before it is sewn up, they fill it with anise, parsley-seed, bruised cypress, and various aromatics. They then place it on a carriage, and remove it to another district, where the persons who receive it, like the Royal Scythians, cut off a part of their ear, shave their heads in a circular form, take a round piece of flesh from their arm, wound their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. The body is again carried to another province of the deceased king's realms, the inhabitants of the former district accompanying the procession. After thus transporting the dead body through the different provinces of the kingdom, they come at last to the Gerrhi, who live in the remotest parts of Scythia, and amongst whom the sepulchres are. Here the corpse is placed upon a couch, round which, at different distances, daggers are fixed; upon the whole are disposed pieces of wood, covered with branches of willow. In some other part of this trench, they bury one of the deceased's concubines, whom they previously strangle, together with the baker, the cook, the groom, his most confidential servant, his horses, the choicest of his effects, and, finally, some golden goblets, for they possess neither silver nor brass: to conclude all, they fill up the trench with earth, and seem to be emulous in their endeavours to raise as high a mound as possible.

LXXII. The ceremony does not terminate here. They select such of the deceased king's attendants, in the following year, as have been most about his per-

son; these are all native Scythians, for in Scythia there are no purchased slaves, the king selecting such to attend him as he thinks proper: fifty of these they strangle, with an equal number of his best horses. They open and cleanse the bodies of them all, which having filled with straw, they sew up again: then upon two pieces of wood they place a third, of a semicircular form, with its concave side uppermost, a second is disposed in like manner, then a third, and so on, till a sufficient number have been erected. Upon these semicircular pieces of wood they place the horses, after passing large poles through them, from the feet to the neck. One part of the structure, formed as we have described, supports the shoulders of the horse, the other his hinder parts, whilst the legs are left to project upwards. The horses are then bridled, and the reins fastened to the legs; upon each of these they afterwards place one of the youths who have been strangled, in the following manner: a pole is passed through each, quite to the neck, through the back, the extremity of which is fixed to the piece of timber with which the horse has been spitted; having done this with each, they so leave them.

LXXIII. The above are the ceremonies observed in the interment of their kings: as to the people in general, when any one dies, the neighbours place the body on a carriage, and carry it about to the different acquaintance of the deceased; these prepare some entertainment for those who accompany the corpse, placing the same before the body, as before the rest. Private persons, after being thus carried about for the space of forty days, are then buried. They who have been engaged in the performance of these rites, afterwards use the following mode of purgation:—after thoroughly washing the head, and then drying it, they do thus with regard to the body; they place in the ground three stakes, inclining towards each other; round these they bind fleeces of wool as thickly as possible, and finally, into the space betwixt the stakes they throw red-hot stones.

LXXIV. They have among them a species of hemp resembling flax, except that it is both thicker and

larger; it is indeed superior to flax, whether it is cultivated or grows spontaneously. Of this the Thracians make themselves garments, which so nearly resemble those of flax, as to require a skilful eye to distinguish them: they who had never seen this hemp, would conclude these vests to be made of flax.

LXXV. The Scythians take the seed of this hemp, and placing it beneath the woollen fleeces which we have before described, they throw it upon the red-hot stones, when immediately a perfumed vapour ascends stronger than from any Grecian stove. This, to the Scythians, is in the place of a bath, and it excites from them cries of exultation. It is to be observed, that they never bathe themselves: the Scythian women bruise under a stone, some wood of the cypress, cedar, and frankincense; upon this they pour a quantity of water, till it becomes of a certain consistency, with which they anoint the body and the face; this at the time imparts an agreeable odour, and when removed on the following day, gives the skin a soft and beautiful appearance.

LXXVI. The Scythians have not only a great abhorrence of all foreign customs, but each province seems unalterably tenacious of its own. Those of the Greeks they particularly avoid, as appears both from Anacharsis and Scyles. Of Anacharsis it is remarkable, that having personally visited a large part of the habitable world, and acquired great wisdom, he at length returned to Scythia. In his passage over the Hellespont, he touched at Cyzicus, at the time when the inhabitants were celebrating a solemn and magnificent festival to the mother of the gods. He made a vow, that if he should return safe and without injury to his country, he would institute, in honour of this deity, the same rites which he had seen performed at Cyzicus, together with the solemnities observed on the eve of her festival. Arriving therefore in Scythia, in the district of Hylæa, near the Course of Achilles, a place abounding with trees, he performed all the particulars of the above-mentioned ceremonies, having a number of small statues fastened about him, with a cymbal in his hand. In this situation he was

observed by one of the natives, who gave intelligence of what he had seen to Saulius, the Scythian king. The king went instantly to the place, and seeing Anacharsis so employed, killed him with an arrow. If any inquiries are now made concerning this Anacharsis, the Scythians disclaim all knowledge of him, merely because he visited Greece, and had learned some foreign customs: but I have been informed by Timnes, the tutor of Spargapithes, that Anacharsis was the uncle of Idanthysus, a Scythian king, and that he was the son of Gnurus, grandson of Lycus, and great-grandson of Spargapithes. If therefore this genealogy be true, it appears that Anacharsis was killed by his own brother; for Saulius, who killed Anacharsis, was the father of Idanthysus.

LXXVII. It is proper to acknowledge, that, from the Peloponnesians I have received a very different account: they affirm that Anacharsis was sent by the Scythian monarch to Greece, for the express purpose of improving himself in science; and they add, that at his return he informed his employer, that all the people of Greece were occupied in scientific pursuits, except the Lacedæmodians; but they alone endeavoured to perfect themselves in discreet and wise conversation. This, however, is a tale of Grecian invention; I am convinced that Anacharsis was killed in the manner which has been described; and that he owed his destruction to the practice of foreign customs and Grecian manners.

LXXVIII. Not many years afterwards, Scyles, the son of Aripithes, experienced a similar fortune. Aripithes, king of Scythia, amongst many other children, had this son Scyles by a woman of Istria, who taught him the language and sciences of Greece. It happened that Aripithes was treasonably put to death by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi. He was succeeded in his dominions by this Scyles, who married one of his father's wives, whose name was Opæa. Opæa was a native of Scythia, and had a son named Oricus by her former husband. When Scyles ascended the Scythian throne, he was exceedingly averse to the manners of his country, and very partial to those

of Greece, to which he had been accustomed from his childhood. As often therefore as he conducted the Scythian forces to the city of the Borysthenites, who affirm that they are descended from the Milesians, he left his army before the town, and entering into the place, secured the gates. He then threw aside his Scythian dress, and assumed the habit of Greece. In this, without guards or attendants, it was his custom to parade through the public square, having the caution to place guards at the gates, that no one of his countrymen might discover him. He not only thus showed his partiality to the customs of Greece, but he also sacrificed to the gods in the Grecian manner. After continuing in the city for the space of a month, and sometimes for more, he would resume his Scythian dress, and depart. This he frequently repeated, having built a palace in this town, and married an inhabitant of the place.

LXXIX. It seemed however ordained that his end should be unfortunate, which accordingly happened. It was his desire to be initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus; and he was already about to take some of the sacred utensils in his hands, when the following prodigy appeared to him. I have before mentioned the palace which he had in the city of the Borysthenites; it was a very large and magnificent structure, and the front of it was decorated with sphinxes and griffins of white marble: the lightning of heaven descended upon it, and it was totally consumed. Scyles nevertheless persevered in what he had undertaken. The Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of their Bacchanalian festivals, and assert it to be contrary to reason, to suppose that any deity should prompt men to acts of madness. When the initiation of Scyles was completed, one of the Borysthenites discovered to the Scythians what he had done. "You Scythians," says he, "censure us on account of our Bacchanalian rites, when we yield to the impulse of the deity. This same deity has taken possession of your sovereign, he is now obedient in his service, and under the influence of his power. If you disbelieve my words, you have only to follow me, and have ocu-

lar proof that what I say is true." The principal Scythians accordingly followed him, and by a secret avenue were by him conducted to the citadel. When they beheld Scyles approach with his thyrsus, and in every other respect acting the Bacchanal, they deemed the matter of most calamitous importance, and returning, informed the army of all that they had seen.

LXXX. As soon as Scyles returned, an insurrection was excited against him; and his brother Octomasades, whose mother was the daughter of Tereus, was promoted to the throne. Scyles having learned the particulars and the motives of this revolt, fled into Thrace; against which place, as soon as he was informed of this event, Octomasades advanced with an army. The Thracians met him at the Ister; when they were upon the point of engaging, Sitalces sent a herald to Octomasades, with this message: "A contest betwixt us would be absurd, for you are the son of my sister. My brother is in your power; if you will deliver him to me, I will give up Scyles to you; thus we shall mutually avoid all danger." As the brother of Sitalces had taken refuge with Octomasades, the above overtures effected a peace. The Scythian king surrendered up his uncle, and received the person of his brother. Sitalces immediately withdrew his army, taking with him his brother: but on that very day Octomasades deprived Scyles of his head. Thus tenacious are the Scythians of their national customs, and such is the fate of those who endeavour to introduce foreign ceremonies amongst them.

LXXXI. On the populousness of Scythia I am not able to speak with decision; they have been represented to me by some as a numerous people, whilst others have informed me, that of real Scythians there are but few. I shall relate, however, what has fallen within my own observation. Betwixt the Borythenes and the Hypanis, there is a place called Exampeus: to this I have before made some allusion, when speaking of a fountain which it contained, whose waters were so exceedingly bitter, as to render the Hypanis, into which it flows, perfectly impalatable. In this place is a vessel of brass, six times larger than

that which is to be seen in the entrance of Pontus, consecrated there by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus. For the benefit of those who may not have seen it, I shall here describe it. This vessel, which is in Scythia, is of the thickness of six digits, and capable of containing six hundred amphoræ. The natives say that it was made of the points of arrows, for that Ariantas, one of their kings, being desirous to ascertain the number of the Scythians, commanded each of his subjects, on pain of death, to bring him the point of an arrow: by these means, so prodigious a quantity were collected, that this vessel was composed from them. It was left by the prince as a monument of the fact, and by him consecrated at Exampæus. This is what I have heard of the populousness of Scythia.

LXXXII. This country has nothing remarkable except its rivers, which are equally large and numerous. If besides these and its vast and extensive plains, it possesses any thing worthy of admiration, it is an impression which they show of the foot of Hercules. This is upon a rock, two cubits in size, but resembling the footstep of a man; it is near the river Tyras.

LXXXIII. I shall now return to the subject from which I originally digressed. Darius, preparing to make an expedition against Scythia, despatched emissaries different ways, commanding some of his dependants to raise a supply of infantry, others to prepare a fleet, and others to throw a bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus. Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, endeavoured to dissuade the prince from his purpose, urging with great wisdom the indigence of Scythia; nor would he desist till he found all his arguments ineffectual. Darius, having completed his preparations, advanced from Susa with his army.

LXXXIV. Upon this occasion a Persian, whose name was Cebazus, and who had three sons in the army, asked permission of the king to detain one of them. The king replied, as to a friend, that the petition was very modest, "and that he would leave him all the three." Cebazus was greatly delighted, and

considered his three sons as exempted from the service: but the king commanded his guards to put the three young men to death; and thus were the three sons of Œebazus left, deprived of life.

LXXXV. Darius marched from Susa to where the bridge had been thrown over the Bosphorus at Chalcedon. Here he embarked and set sail for the Cyanean islands, which, if the Greeks may be believed, formerly floated. Here, sitting in the temple, he cast his eyes over the Euxine, which of all seas most deserves admiration. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stadia; its breadth, where it is greatest, is three thousand two hundred. The breadth of the entrance is four stadia; the length of the neck, which is called the Bosphorus, where the bridge had been erected, is about one hundred and twenty stadia. The Bosphorus is connected with the Propontis, which flowing into the Hellespont, is five hundred stadia in breadth, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont itself, in its narrowest part, where it enters the Ægean sea, is forty stadia long, and seven wide.

LXXXVI. The exact mensuration of these seas is thus determined; in a long day, a ship will sail the space of seventy thousand orgyæ, and sixty thousand by night. From the entrance of the Euxine to Phasis, which is the extreme length of this sea, is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which is equal to eleven hundred and ten thousand orgyæ, or eleven thousand one hundred stadia. The broadest part of this sea, which is from Sindica to Themiscyra, on the river Thermodon, is a voyage of three days and two nights, which is equivalent to three thousand three hundred stadia, or three hundred and thirty thousand orgyæ. The Pontus, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, were thus severally measured by me; and circumstanced as I have already described. The Palus Mæotis flows into the Euxine, which in extent almost equals it, and which is justly called the mother of the Euxine.

LXXXVII. When Darius had taken a survey of the Euxine, he sailed back again to the bridge constructed by Mandrocles the Samian. He then examined the Bosphorus, near which he ordered two columns

of white marble to be erected; upon one were inscribed in Assyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the different nations which followed him. In this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to seventy thousand men, independent of his fleet, which consisted of six hundred ships. These columns the Byzantines afterwards removed to their city, and placed before the altar of the Orthosian Diana, excepting only one stone, which they deposited in their city before the temple of Bacchus, and which was covered with Assyrian characters. That part of the Bosphorus where Darius ordered the bridge to be erected, is, as I conjecture, nearly at the point of middle distance between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the Euxine.

LXXXVIII. With this bridge Darius was so much delighted, that he made many valuable presents to Mandrocles the Samian, who constructed it: with the produce of these the artist caused a representation to be made of the Bosphorus, with the bridge thrown over it, and the king seated on a throne, reviewing his troops as they passed. This he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Juno, with this inscription:

Thus was the fishy Bosphorus inclos'd,
When Samian Mandrocles his bridge impos'd:
Who there, obedient to Darius' will,
Approv'd his country's fame, and private skill.

LXXXIX. Darius, having rewarded the artist, passed over into Europe: he had previously ordered the Ionians to pass over the Euxine to the Ister, where having erected a bridge, they were to wait his arrival. To assist this expedition, the Ionians and Æolians, with the inhabitants of the Hellespont, had assembled a fleet; accordingly, having passed the Cýanean islands, they sailed directly to the Ister; and arriving, after a passage of two days from the sea, at that part of the river where it begins to branch off, they constructed a bridge. Darius crossed the Bosphorus, and marched through Thrace, and arriving at the sources of the river Tearus, he encamped for the space of three days.

XC. The people who inhabit its banks, affirm the waters of the Tearus to be an excellent remedy for various diseases, and particularly for ulcers, both in men and horses. Its sources are thirty-eight in number, issuing from the same rock, part of which are cold, and part warm; they are at an equal distance from Heræum, a city near Perinthus, and from Apollonia on the Euxine, being a two days' journey from both. The Tearus flows into the Contadesdus, the Contadesdus into the Agrianis, the Agrianis into the Hebrus, the Hebrus into the sea, near the city Ænus.

XCI. Darius arriving at the Tearus, there fixed his camp: he was so delighted with this river, that he caused a column to be erected on the spot, with this inscription: "The sources of the Tearus afford the best and clearest waters in the world:—In prosecuting an expedition against Scythia, Darius son of Hystaspes, the best and most amiable of men, sovereign of Persia, and of all the continent, arrived here with his forces."

XCII. Leaving this place, Darius advanced towards another river, called Artiscus, which flows through the country of the Odrysians. On his arrival here, he fixed upon one certain spot, on which he commanded every one of his soldiers to throw a stone as he passed: this was accordingly done; and Darius, having thus raised an immense pile of stones, proceeded on his march.

XCIII. Before he arrived at the Ister, he first of all subdued the Getæ, a people who pretend to immortality. The Thracians of Salmydessus, and they who live above Apollonia, and the city of Mesambria, with those who are called Cyrmianians, and Mypsæans, submitted themselves to Darius without resistance. The Getæ obstinately defended themselves, but were soon reduced; these, of all the Thracians, are the bravest and most upright.

XCIV. They believe themselves to be immortal, and whenever any one dies, they are of opinion that he is removed to the presence of their god Zamolxis, whom some believe to be the same with Gebeleizes. Once in every five years they choose one by lot, who

is to be despatched as a messenger to Zamolxis, to make known to him their several wants. The ceremony they observe on this occasion is this:—Three amongst them are appointed to hold in their hands three javelins, whilst others seize by the feet and hands the person who is appointed to appear before Zamolxis; they throw him up, so as to make him fall upon the javelins. If he dies in consequence, they imagine that the deity is propitious to them; if not, they accuse the victim of being a wicked man. Having disgraced him, they proceed to the election of another, giving him, whilst yet alive, their commands. This same people, whenever it thunders or lightens, throw their weapons into the air, as if menacing their god; and they seriously believe that there is no other deity.

XCV. This Zamolxis, as I have been informed by those Greeks who inhabit the Hellespont and the Euxine, was himself a man, and formerly lived at Samos, in the service of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus; having obtained his liberty, with considerable wealth, he returned to his country. Here he found the Thracians distinguished equally by their profligacy and their ignorance; whilst he himself had been accustomed to the Ionian mode of life, and to manners more polished than those of Thrace; he had also been connected with Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece. He was therefore induced to build a large mansion, to which he invited the most eminent of his fellow-citizens: he took the opportunity of the festive hour to assure them, that neither himself, his guests, nor any of their descendants, should ever die, but should be removed to a place, where they were to remain in the perpetual enjoyment of every blessing. After saying this, and conducting himself accordingly, he constructed a subterranean edifice: when it was completed, he withdrew himself from the sight of his countrymen, and resided for three years beneath the earth.—During this period, the Thracians regretted his loss, and lamented him as dead. In the fourth year he again appeared among

them, and by this artifice gave the appearance of probability to what he had before asserted.

XCVL To this story of the subterraneous apartment, I do not give much credit, though I pretend not to dispute it; I am, however, very certain that Zamolxis must have lived many years before Pythagoras: whether, therefore, he was a man, or the deity of the Getæ, enough has been said concerning him. These Getæ, using the ceremonies I have described, after submitting themselves to the Persians under Darius, followed his army.

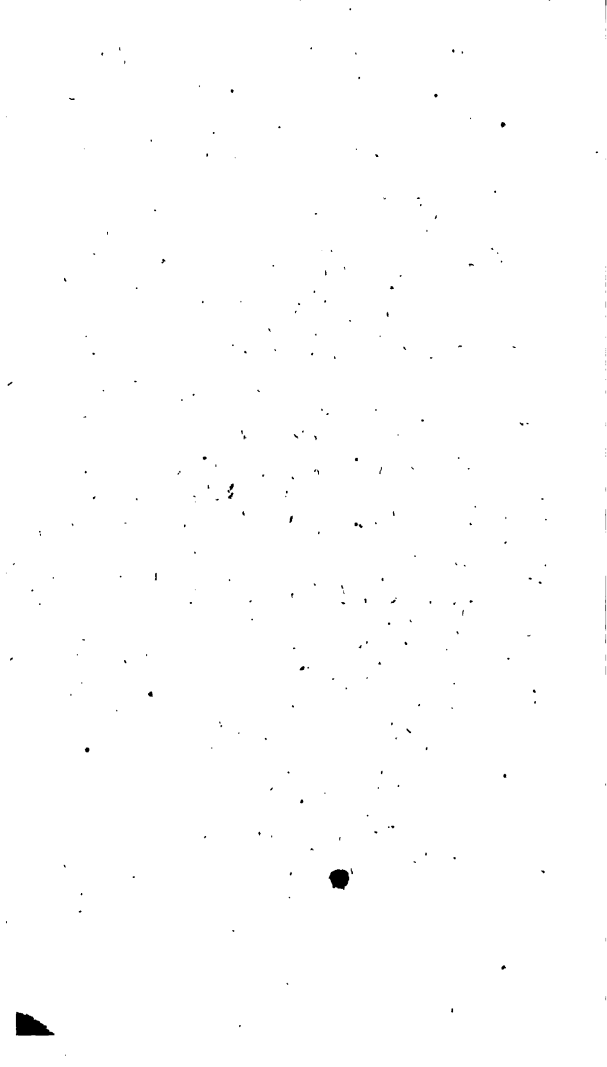
XCVII. Darius, when he arrived at the Ister, passed the river with his army; he then commanded the Ionians to break down the bridge, and to follow him with all the men of their fleet. When they were about to comply with his orders, Coes, son of Erxander, and leader of the Mytilenians, after requesting permission of the king to deliver his sentiments, addressed him as follows:

“As you are going, Sir, to attack a country, which, if report may be believed, is without cities, and entirely uncultivated, suffer the bridge to continue as it is, under the care of those who constructed it:—By means of this, our return will be secured, whether we find the Scythians, and succeed against them according to our wishes, or whether they elude our endeavours to discover them. I am not at all apprehensive that the Scythians will overcome us; but I think that if we do not meet them, we shall suffer from our ignorance of the country. It may be said, perhaps, that I speak from selfish considerations, and that I am desirous of being left behind; but my real motive is a regard for your interest, whom at all events I am determined to follow.”

With this counsel Darius was greatly delighted, and thus replied:—“My Lesbian friend, when I shall return safe and fortunate from this expedition, I beg that I may see you, and I will not fail amply to reward you, for your excellent advice.”

XCVIII. After this speech, the king took a cord, upon which he tied sixty knots, then sending for the Ionian chiefs, he thus addressed them:—

“Men of Ionia, I have thought proper to change my original determination concerning this bridge: do you take this cord, and observe what I require; from the time of my departure against Scythia, do not fail every day to untie one of these knots. If they shall be all loosened before you see me again, you are at liberty to return to your country; but in the mean time it is my desire that you preserve and defend this bridge, by which means you will effectually oblige me.” As soon as Darius had spoken, he proceeded on his march.



HERODOTUS.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE

CONTINUED.

CHAPTER XCIX.

THAT part of Thrace which stretches to the sea, has Scythia immediately contiguous to it; where Thrace ends, Scythia begins, through which the Ister passes, commencing at the south-east, and emptying itself into the Euxine. It shall be my business to describe that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Ister to the sea-coast. Ancient Scythia extends from the Ister westward, as far as the city Carcinitis. The mountainous country above this place, in the same direction, as far as what is called the Trachean Chersonese, is possessed by the people of Tauris; this place is situated near the sea to the east. Scythia, like Attica, is in two parts bounded by the sea, westward and to the east. The people of Tauris are circumstanced with respect to Scythia, as any other nation would be with respect to Attica, who, instead of Athenians, should inhabit the Sunian promontory, stretching from the district of Thonicus, as far as Anaphlystus. Such, comparing small things with great, is the district of Tauris: but as there may be some who have not visited these parts of Attica, I shall endeavour to explain myself more intelligibly. Suppose, that beginning at the port of Brundisium, another nation, and not the Iapyges, should occupy that country, as far as Tarentum, separating it from the rest of the continent: I mention these two, but there are many other places similarly situated, to which Tauris might be compared.

C. The country above Tauris, as well as that towards the sea to the east, is inhabited by Scythians, who possess also the lands which lie to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis, as far as the Tanais, which empties itself into this lake; so that as you advance from the Ister inland, Scythia is terminated first by the Agathyrsi, then by the Neuri, thirdly by the Androphagi, and last of all, by the Melanchlæni.

CI. Scythia thus appears to be of quadrangular form, having two of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two towards the land are perfectly equal: from the Ister to the Borysthenes is a ten days' journey, which is also the distance from the Borysthenes to the Palus Mæotis. Ascending from the sea inland, as far as the country of the Melanchlæni, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days: according to my computation, a day's journey is equal to two hundred stadia: thus the extent of Scythia, along its sides, is four thousand stadia; and through the midst of it inland, is four thousand more.

CII. The Scythians, conferring with one another, conceived that of themselves they were unable to repel the forces of Darius; they therefore made application to their neighbours. The princes also to whom they applied, held a consultation concerning the powerful army of the invader; at this meeting were assembled the princes of the Agathyrsi, Tauri, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ.

CIII. Of these nations, the Tauri are distinguished by these peculiar customs: All strangers shipwrecked on their coast, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to a virgin, in the following manner: after the ceremonies of prayer, they strike the victim on the head with a club. Some affirm, that, having fixed the head upon a cross, they precipitate the body from a rock, on the craggy part of which the temple stands: others again, allowing that the head is thus exposed, deny that the body is so treated, but say that it is buried. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered, the Taurians

themselves assert to be Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. The manner in which they treat their captives is this:—Every man cuts off the head of his prisoner, and carries it to his house; this he fixes on a stake, which is placed generally at the top of the chimney; thus situated, they affect to consider it as the protector of their families: their whole subsistence is procured by acts of plunder and hostility.

CIV. The Agathyrsi are a people of very effeminate manners, but abounding in gold; they have their women in common, so that, being all connected by the ties of consanguinity, they know nothing of envy or of hatred: in other respects they resemble the Thracians.

CV. The Neuri observe the Scythian customs. In the age preceding this invasion of Darius, they were compelled to change their habitations, from the multitude of serpents which infested them: besides what their own soil produced, these came in far greater numbers from the deserts above them; till they were at length compelled to take refuge with the Budini; these people have the character of being magicians. It is asserted by the Scythians, as well as by those Greeks who dwell in Scythia, that once in every year they are all of them changed into wolves; and that after remaining so for the space of a few days, they resume their former shape; but this I do not believe, although they swear that it is true.

CVI. The Androphagi are, perhaps, of all mankind, the rudest: they have no forms of law or justice, their employment is feeding of cattle; and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves.

CVII. The Melanchlæni, have all black garments; from whence they derive their name: these are the only people known to feed on human flesh; their manners are those of Scythia.

CVIII. The Budini are a great and numerous people; their bodies are painted of a blue and red colour; they have in their country a town called Gelonus; built entirely of wood. Its walls are of a surprising height: they are on each side three hundred stadia

in length; the houses and the temples are all of wood. They have temples built in the Grecian manner to Grecian deities, with the statues, altars, and shrines of wood. Every three years they have a festival in honour of Bacchus. The Geloni are of Grecian origin; but being expelled from the commercial towns, they established themselves amongst the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Greek and Scythian.

CIX. The Budini are distinguished equally in their language and manner of life from the Geloni: they are the original natives of the country, feeders of cattle, and the only people of the country who eat vermin. The Geloni, on the contrary, pay attention to agriculture, live on corn, cultivate gardens, and resemble the Budini neither in appearance nor complexion. The Greeks however are apt, though erroneously, to confound them both under the name of Geloni. Their country is covered with trees of every species: where these are the thickest, there is a large and spacious lake with a marsh surrounded with reeds. In this lake are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have square snouts: of these, the skins are used to border the garment; and their testicles are esteemed useful in hysteric diseases.

CX. Of the Sauromatæ we have this account. In a contest which the Greeks had with the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, or, as it may be interpreted, men-slayers (for Oeor signifies a man, and pata to kill) they obtained a victory over them at Thermodon. On their return, as many Amazons as they were able to take captive, they distributed in three vessels: these, when they were out at sea, rose against their conquerors, and put them all to death. But as they were totally ignorant of navigation, and knew nothing at all of the management either of helms, sails, or oars, they were obliged to resign themselves to the wind and the tide, which carried them to Cremnes, near the Palus Mæotis, a place inhabited by the free Scythians. The Amazons here disembarked, and advanced towards the part which was inhabited, and meeting with a stud of horses in their

route, they immediately seized them, and, mounted on these, proceeded to plunder the Scythians.

CXI. The Scythians were unable to explain what had happened, being neither acquainted with the language, the dress, nor the country of the invaders. Under the impression that they were a body of men nearly of the same age, they offered them battle. The result was, that, having taken some as prisoners, they at last discovered them to be women. After a consultation among themselves, they determined not to put any of them to death, but to select a detachment of their youngest men, equal in number, as they might conjecture, to the Amazons. They were directed to encamp opposite to them, and by their adversaries' motions to regulate their own: if they were attacked, they were to retreat without making resistance; when the pursuit should be discontinued, they were to return, and again encamp as near the Amazons as possible. The Scythians took these measures, with the view of having children by these invaders.

CXII. The young men did as they were ordered. The Amazons, seeing that no injury was offered them, desisted from hostilities. The two camps imperceptibly approached each other. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses; and both obtained their subsistence from the chase.

CXIII. It was the custom of the Amazons, about noon, to retire from the rest, either alone or two in company, to ease nature. The Scythians discovered this, and did likewise. One of the young men met with an Amazon, who had wandered alone from her companions, and who, instead of rejecting his caresses, suffered him to enjoy her person. They were not able to converse with each other, but she intimated by signs, that if on the following day, he would come to the same place, and bring with him a companion, she would bring another female to meet him. The young man returned, and told what had happened: he was punctual to his engagement, and the next day went with a friend to the place, where he found the two Amazons waiting to receive them.

CXIV. This adventure was communicated to the Scythians, who soon conciliated the rest of the women. The two camps were presently united, and each considered her as his wife to whom he had first attached himself. As they were not able to learn the dialect of the Amazons, they taught them theirs; which having accomplished, the husbands thus addressed their wives:—"We have relations and property, let us therefore change this mode of life; let us go hence, and communicate with the rest of our countrymen, where you and you, only shall be our wives." To this, the Amazons thus replied: "We cannot associate with your females, whose manners are so different from our own; we are expert in the use of the javelin and the bow, and accustomed to ride on horseback; but we are ignorant of all feminine employments; your women are very differently accomplished; instructed in female arts, they pass their time in their wagons, and despise the chase, with all similar exercises; we cannot therefore live with them. If you really desire to retain us as your wives, and to behave yourselves honestly towards us, return to your parents, dispose of your property, and afterwards come back to us, and we will live together, at a distance from your other connexions."

CXV. The young men approved of their advice; they accordingly took their share of the property which belonged to them, and returned to the Amazons, by whom they were thus addressed: "Our residence here occasions us much terror and uneasiness: we have not only deprived you of your parents, but have greatly wasted your country. As you think us worthy of being your wives, let us leave this place, and dwell beyond the Tanais."

CXVI. With this also the young Scythians complied, and having passed the Tanais, they marched forwards a three days' journey towards the east, and three more from the Palus Mæotis towards the north. Here they fixed themselves, and now remain. The women of the Sauromatæ still retain their former habits of life; they pursue the chase on horseback, sometimes with and sometimes without their hus-

bands, and, dressed in the habits of the men, frequently engage in battle.

CXVII. The Sauromatæ use the Scythian language, but their dialect has always been impure, because the Amazons themselves had learned it but imperfectly. With respect to their institutions concerning marriage, no virgin is permitted to marry till she shall first have killed an enemy. It sometimes therefore happens that many women die single at an advanced age, having never been able to fulfil the conditions required.

CXVIII. To these nations, which I have described, assembled in council, the Scythian ambassadors were admitted;—they informed the princes, that the Persian, having reduced under his authority all the nations of the adjoining continent, had thrown a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus, in order to pass into theirs: that he had already subdued Thrace, and constructed a bridge over the Ister, ambitiously hoping to reduce them also. “Will it be just,” they continued, “for you to remain inactive spectators of our ruin? Rather, having the same sentiments, let us advance together against this invader: unless you do this, we shall be reduced to the last extremities, and be compelled either to forsake our country, or to submit to the terms he may impose. If you withhold your assistance, what may we not dread? Neither will you have reason to expect a different or a better fate; for are not you the object of the Persian’s ambition as well as ourselves? or do you suppose that, having vanquished us, he will leave you unmolested? That we reason justly, you have sufficient evidence before you. If his hostilities were directed only against us, with the view of revenging the former servile condition of his nation, he would immediately have marched into our country, without at all injuring or molesting others; he would have shown by his conduct, that his indignation was directed against the Scythians only. On the contrary, as soon as ever he set foot upon our continent, he reduced all the nations which he met, and has subdued the Thracians, and our neighbours the Getæ.”

CXIX. When the Scythians had thus delivered their sentiments, the princes of the nations who were assembled deliberated among themselves, but great difference of opinion prevailed; the sovereigns of the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ were unanimous in their inclination to assist the Scythians; but those of the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and Tauri, made this answer to the ambassadors: "If you had not been the first aggressors in this dispute, having first of all commenced hostilities against Persia, your desire of assistance would have appeared to us reasonable; we should have listened to you with attention, and yielded the aid which you require: but without any interference on our part, you first made incursions into their territories, and, as long as fortune favoured you, ruled over Persia. The same fortune now seems propitious to them, and they only retaliate your own conduct upon you. We did not before offer any injury to this people, neither without provocation shall we do so now: but if he attack our country, and commence hostilities against us, he will find that we shall not patiently endure the insult. Until he shall do this, we shall remain neutral. We cannot believe that the Persians intend any injury to us, but to those alone who first offended them."

CXX. When the Scythians heard this, and found that they had no assistance to expect, they determined to avoid all open and decisive encounters: with this view they divided themselves into two bodies, and retiring gradually before the enemy, they filled up the wells and fountains which lay in their way, and destroyed the produce of their fields. The Sauromatæ were directed to advance to the district under the authority of Scopasis, with orders, upon the advance of the Persians, to retreat towards the Mæotis, by the river Tanais. If the Persians retreated, they were to harass and pursue them. This was the disposition of one part of their power. The two other divisions of their country, the greater one under Indathyrsus, and the third under Taxacis, were to join themselves to the Geloni and Budini, and advancing a day's march before the Persians, were gradually to retreat, and in

other respects perform what had been previously determined in council. They were particularly enjoined to allure the enemy to pass the dominions of those nations who had withheld their assistance, in order that their indignation might be provoked; that as they were unwilling to unite in any hostilities before, they should now be compelled to take arms in their own defence. They were finally to retire into their own country, and to attack the enemy, if it could be done with any prospect of success.

CXXI. The Scythians, having determined upon these measures, advanced silently before the forces of Darius, sending forwards as scouts a select detachment of their cavalry: they also despatched before them the carriages in which their wives and children usually live, together with their cattle, reserving only such a number as was necessary to their subsistence, giving directions that their route should be regularly towards the north.

CXXII. These carriages accordingly advanced as they were directed; the Scythian scouts, finding that the Persians had proceeded a three days' journey from the Ister, encamped at the distance of one day's march from their army, and destroyed all the produce of the lands. The Persians, as soon as they came in sight of the Scythian cavalry, commenced the pursuit; whilst the Scythians regularly retired before them. Directing their attention to one part of the enemy in particular, the Persians continued to advance eastward towards the Tanaïs. The Scythians having crossed this river, the Persians did the same, till passing over the country of the Saurōmatæ, they came to that of the Budini.

CXXIII. As long as the Persians remained in Scythia and Sarmatia, they had little power of doing injury, the country around them was so vast and extensive; but as soon as they came amongst the Budini, they discovered a town built entirely of wood, which the inhabitants had totally stripped and deserted; to this they set fire. This done, they continued their pursuit through the country of the Budini, till they came to a dreary solitude. This is beyond the Budini,

and of the extent of a seven days' journey, without a single inhabitant. Farther on are the Thyssagetæ, from whose country four great rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Palus Mæotis. The names of these rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanais, and the Syrgis.

CXXIV. As soon as Darius arrived at the above solitude, he halted, and encamped his army upon the banks of the Oarus: he then constructed eight large forts, at the distance of sixty stadia from each other, the ruins of which have been visible to my time. Whilst he was thus employed, that detachment of the enemy which he had pursued, making a circuit by the higher parts of the country, returned into Scythia. When these had disappeared, and were no more to be discovered, Darius left his forts in an unfinished state, and directed his march westward, thinking that the Scythians whom he had pursued were the whole of the nation, and had fled towards the west: accelerating therefore his march, he arrived in Scythia, and met with two detachments of Scythians; these also he pursued, who took care to keep from him at the distance of one day's march.

CXXV. Darius continued his pursuit, and the Scythians, as had been previously concerted, led him into the country of those who had refused to accede to their alliance, and first of all into that of the Melanchlæni. When the lands of this people had been effectually harassed by the Scythians, as well as the Persians, the latter were again led by the former into the district of the Androphagi. Having in like manner distressed these, the Persians were allured on to the Neuri: the Neuri being also alarmed and harassed, the attempt was made to carry the Persians amongst the Agathyrsi. This people however had observed, that before their own country had suffered any injury from the invaders, the Scythians had taken care to distress the lands of their neighbours; they accordingly despatched to them a messenger, forbidding their nearer approach, and threatening that any attempt to advance should meet with their hostile resistance: with this determination, the Agathyrsi

appeared in arms upon their borders. But the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, although they had suffered equally from the Persians and the Scythians, neither made any exertions, nor remembered what they had before menaced, but fled in alarm to the deserts of the north. The Scythians, turning aside from the Agathyrsi, who had refused to assist them, retreated from the country of the Neuri, towards Scythia, whither they were pursued by the Persians.

CXXVI. As they continued to persevere in the same conduct, Darius was induced to send a messenger to Indathyrus, the Scythian prince. "Most wretched man," said the ambassador, "why do you thus continue to fly, having the choice of one of these alternatives?—if you think yourself able to contend with me, stop and let us engage: if you feel a conscious inferiority, bring to me, as to your superior, earth and water. Let us come to a conference."

CXXVII. The Scythian monarch made this reply: "It is not my disposition, O Persian, to fly from any man through fear; neither do I now fly from you. My present conduct differs not at all from that which I pursue in a state of peace. Why I do not contend with you in the open field, I will explain: we have no inhabited towns nor cultivated lands of which we can fear your invasion or your plunder, and have therefore no occasion to engage with you precipitately: but we have the sepulchres of our fathers, these you may discover; and if you endeavour to injure them, you shall soon know how far we are able or willing to resist you; till then we will not meet you in battle. Remember farther, that I acknowledge no master or superior, but Jupiter, who was my ancestor, and Histia, the Scythian queen. Instead of the presents which you require, of earth and water, I will send you such as you better deserve: and in return for your calling yourself my master, I only bid you weep." Such was the answer of the Scythian, which the ambassador related to Darius.

CXXVIII. The very idea of servitude exasperated the Scythian princes; they accordingly despatched

that part of their army which was under Scopasia, together with the Sauromatæ, to solicit a conference with the Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; those who remained did not think it necessary any more to lead the Persians about, but regularly endeavoured to surprise them when at their meals; they watched, therefore, their proper opportunities, and executed their purpose. The Scythian horse never failed of driving back the cavalry of the Persians, but these last, in falling back upon their infantry, were always secured and supported. The Scythians, notwithstanding their advantage over the Persian horse, always retreated from the foot; they frequently, however, attacked them under cover of the night.

CXXIX. In these attacks of the Scythians upon the camp of Darius, the Persians had one advantage, which I shall explain—it arose from the braying of the asses, and appearance of the mules: I have before observed, that neither of these animals are produced in Scythia, on account of the extreme cold. The braying, therefore, of the asses greatly distressed the Scythian horses, which, as often as they attacked the Persians, pricked up their ears and ran back, equally disturbed by a noise which they had never heard, and figures they had never seen: this was of some importance in the progress of hostilities.

CXXX. The Scythians, discovering that the Persians were in extreme perplexity, hoped that by detaining them longer in their country, they should finally reduce them to the utmost distress: with this view, they occasionally left exposed some of their cattle with their shepherds, and artfully retired; of these, with much exultation, the Persians took possession.

CXXXI. This was again and again repeated; Darius nevertheless became gradually in want of almost every necessary: the Scythian princes, knowing this, sent to him a messenger, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, as a present. The Persians inquired of the bearer, what these might mean; but the man declared, that his orders were only to deliver them

and return : he advised them, however, to exert their sagacity, and interpret the mystery.

CXXXII. The Persians accordingly held a consultation on the subject. Darius was of opinion, that the Scythians intended by this to express submission to him, and give him the earth and the water which he required. The mouse, as he explained it, was produced in the earth, and lived on the same food as man ; the frog was a native of the water ; the bird bore a great resemblance to a horse ; and in giving the arrows, they intimated the surrender of their power : this was the interpretation of Darius. Gobryas, however, one of the seven who had dethroned the Magus, thus interpreted the presents : " Men of Persia, unless like birds ye shall mount into the air, like mice take refuge in the earth, or like frogs leap into the marshes, these arrows shall prevent the possibility of your return to the place from whence you came." This explanation was generally accepted.

CXXXIII. That detachment of the Scythians who had before been intrusted with the defence of the Palus Mæotis, but who were afterwards sent to the Ionians at the Ister, no sooner arrived at the bridge, than they thus spake : " Men of Ionia, if you will but hearken to our words, we come to bring you liberty : we have been told, that Darius commanded you to guard this bridge for sixty days only ; if in that time he should not appear, you were permitted to return home. Do this, and you will neither disobey him, nor offend us : stay, therefore, till the time which he has appointed, and then depart." With this injunction the Ionians promising to comply, the Scythians instantly retired.

CXXXIII. The rest of the Scythians, having sent the present to Darius which we have described, opposed themselves to him, both horse and foot, in order of battle. Whilst they were in this situation, a hare was seen in the space betwixt the two armies ; the Scythians immediately pursued it with loud cries. Darius, inquiring the cause of the tumult which he heard, was informed that the enemy were pursuing a hare ; upon this, turning to some of his confidential

attendants, "These men," he exclaimed, "do, indeed, seem greatly to despise us; and Gobryas has properly interpreted the Scythian presents: I am now of the same opinion myself, and it becomes us to exert all our sagacity to effect a safe return to the place from whence we came." "Indeed, Sir," answered Gobryas, "I had before heard of the poverty of this people, I have now clearly seen it, and can perceive that they hold us in extreme contempt. I would therefore advise, that as soon as the night sets in, we light our fires as usual; and farther to elude the enemy, let us tie all the asses together, and leave behind us the more infirm of our forces; this done, let us retire, before the Scythians shall advance towards the Ister, and break down the bridge, or before the Ionians shall come to any resolution which may cause our ruin."

CXXXV. Darius having acceded to this opinion of Gobryas, as soon as the evening approached, the more infirm of the troops, and those whose loss was deemed of little importance, were left behind; all the asses also were secured together: the motive for this was, the expectation that the presence of those who remained would cause the asses to bray as usual. The sick and infirm were deserted, under the pretence, that whilst the king was marching with his best troops to engage the Scythians, they were to defend the camp. After circulating this report, the fires were lighted, and Darius with the greatest expedition directed his march towards the Ister: the asses, missing the usual multitude, made so much the greater noise, from hearing which the Scythians were induced to believe that the Persians still continued in their camp.

CXXXVI. When morning appeared, they who were left, perceiving themselves deserted by Darius, made signals to the Scythians, and explained their situation: upon which intelligence, the two divisions of the Scythians, forming a junction with the Sauromatæ, the Budini, and Geloni, advanced towards the Ister, in pursuit of the Persians; but as the Persian army consisted principally of foot, who were ignorant of the country, through which there were no regular paths; and as the Scythians were chiefly horse, and

perfectly acquainted with the ways, they mutually missed of each other, and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much sooner than the Persians. Here, finding that the Persians were not yet come, they thus addressed the Ionians, who were on board their vessels:—"Ionians, the number of days is now past, and you do wrong in remaining here; if motives of fear have hitherto detained you, you may now break down the bridge, and having recovered your liberties, be thankful to the gods and to us: we will take care that he who was formerly your master, shall never again make war upon any one."

CXXXVII. The Ionians being met in council upon this subject, Miltiades, the Athenian leader, and prince of the Chersonese, on the Hellespont, was of opinion that the advice of the Scythians should be taken, and Ionia be thus relieved from servitude. Histæus, the Milesian, thought differently; he represented, that through Darius each of them now enjoyed the sovereignty of their several cities; that if the power of Darius was once taken away, neither he himself should continue supreme at Miletus, nor would any of them be able to retain their superiority: for it was evident that all their fellow-citizens would prefer a popular government to that of a tyrant. This argument appeared so forcible, that all they who had before assented to Miltiades, instantly adopted it.

CXXXVIII. They who acceded to this opinion were also in great estimation with the king. Of the princes of the Hellespont, there were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus the Preconnesian, Aristagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariston the Byzantian. Amongst the Ionian leaders were Stratias of Chios, Æacides of Samos, Laodamas the Phocian, and Histæus the Milesian, whose opinion prevailed in the assembly, in opposition to that of Miltiades: the only Æolian of consequence who was present on this occasion, was Aristagoras of Cyme.

CXXXIX. These leaders, acceding to the opinion of Histæus, thought it would be advisable to break down that part of the bridge which was towards Scy-

thia, to the extent of a bow-shot. This, although it was of no real importance, would prevent the Scythians from passing the Ister on the bridge, and might induce them to believe that no inclination was wanting on the part of the Ionians, to comply with their wishes: accordingly Histæus thus addressed them in the name of the rest: "Men of Scythia, we consider your advice as of consequence to our interest, and we take in good part your urging it upon us. You have shown us the path which we ought to pursue, and we are readily disposed to follow it; we shall break down the bridge as you recommend, and in all things shall discover the most earnest zeal to secure our liberties: in the mean time, whilst we shall thus be employed, it becomes you to go in pursuit of the enemy, and having found them, revenge yourselves and us."

CXL. The Scythians, placing an entire confidence in the promises of the Ionians, returned to the pursuit of the Persians; they did not, however, find them, for in that particular district they themselves had destroyed all the fodder for the horses, and corrupted all the springs; they might otherwise easily have found the Persians; and thus it happened, that the measure which at first promised them success became ultimately injurious. They directed their march to those parts of Scythia where they were secure of water and provisions for their horses, thinking themselves certain of here meeting with the enemy; but the Persian prince, following the track he had before pursued, found, though with the greatest difficulty, the place he aimed at: arriving at the bridge by night, and finding it broken down he was exceedingly disheartened, and conceived himself abandoned by the Ionians.

CXLI. There was in the army of Darius an Egyptian very remarkable for the loudness of his voice: this man, Darius ordered to advance to the banks of the Ister, and to pronounce with all his strength, the name of "Histæus the Milesian;" Histæus immediately heard him, and approaching with all the fleet, enabled the Persians to repass, by again forming a bridge.

CXLII. By these means the Persians escaped,

whilst the Scythians were a second time engaged in a long and fruitless pursuit. From this period the Scythians considered the Ionians as the basest and most contemptible of mankind, speaking of them as men attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom; and always using towards them the most reproachful terms.

CXLIII. Darius proceeding through Thrace, arrived at Sestos of the Chersonese, from whence he passed over into Asia: he left, however, some troops in Europe, under the command of Megabyzus, a Persian, of whom it is reported, that one day in conversation the king spoke in terms of the highest honour. He was about to eat some pomegranates, and having opened one, he was asked by his brother Artabanus, what thing there was which he would desire to possess in as great a quantity as there were seeds in the pomegranate? "I would rather," he replied, "have so many Megabyzæ, than see Greece under my power." This compliment he paid him publicly, and at this time he left him at the head of eighty thousand men.

CXLIV. This same person also, for a saying which I shall relate, left behind him in the Hellespont a name never to be forgotten. Being at Byzantium, he learned upon inquiry that the Chalcedonians had built their city seventeen years before the Byzantians had founded theirs: he observed, that the Chalcedonians must then have been blind,—or otherwise, having the choice of a situation in all respects better, they would never have preferred one so very inferior. Megabyzus, being thus left to the command of the Hellespont, reduced all those who were in opposition to the Medes.

CXLV. About the same time another great expedition was set on foot in Lybia, the occasion of which I shall relate: it will be first necessary to premise this:—the posterity of the Argonauts being expelled from Lemnos, by the Pelasgians, who had carried off from Brauron, some Athenian women, sailed to Lacedæmon; they disembarked at Taygétus, where they made a great fire. The Lacedæmonians perceiving this,

sent to inquire of them who and whence they were; they returned for answer, that they were Minyæ, descendants of those heroes who, passing the ocean in the Argo, settled in Lemnos, and there begot them. When the Lacedæmonians heard this account of their descent, they sent a second messenger, inquiring what was the meaning of the fire they had made, and what were their intentions in coming among them. Their reply was to this effect, that, being expelled by the Pelasgians, they had returned, as was reasonable, to the country of their ancestors, and were desirous to fix their residence with them, as partakers of their lands and honours. The Lacedæmonians expressed themselves willing to receive them upon their own terms; and they were induced to this, as well from other considerations, as because the Tyndaridæ had sailed in the Argo; they accordingly admitted the Minyæ among them, assigned them lands, and distributed them among their tribes. The Minyæ in return parted with the women whom they had brought from Lemnos, and connected themselves in marriage with others.

CXLVI. In a very short time these Minyæ became distinguished for their intemperance, making themselves not only dangerous from their ambition, but odious by their vices. The Lacedæmonians conceived their enormities worthy of death, and accordingly cast them into prison: it is to be remarked, that this people always inflict capital punishments by night, never by day. When things were in this situation, the wives of the prisoners, who were natives of the country, and the daughters of the principal citizens, solicited permission to visit their husbands in confinement; as no stratagem was suspected, this was granted. The wives of the Minyæ accordingly entered the prison, and exchanged dresses with their husbands: by this artifice they effected their escape, and again took refuge on mount Taygetus.

CXLVII. It was about this time that Theras, the son of Autesion, was sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony: Autesion was the son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, great-grandson of Polynices.

This Theras was of the Cadmean family, uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus: during the minority of his nephews, the regency of Sparta was confided to him. When his sister's sons grew up, and he was obliged to resign his power, he was little inclined to acknowledge superiority where he had been accustomed to exercise it; he therefore refused to remain in Sparta, but determined to join his relations. In the island now called Thera, but formerly Callista, the posterity of Membliares, son of Pœciles, the Phœnician, resided; to this place Cadmus, son of Agenor, was driven, when in search of Europa; and either from partiality to the country, or from prejudice of one kind or other, he left there, among other Phœnicians, Membliares, his relation. These men inhabited the island of Callista eight years before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon.

CXLVIII. To this people Theras came, with a select number from the different Spartan tribes: he had no hostile views, but a sincere wish to dwell with them on terms of friendship. The Minyæ having escaped from prison, and taken refuge on mount Taygetus, the Lacedæmonians were still determined to put them to death; Theras, however, interceded in their behalf, and engaged to prevail on them to quit their situation. His proposal was accepted, and accordingly, with three vessels of thirty oars, he sailed to join the descendants of Membliares, taking with him only a small number of the Minyæ. The far greater part of them had made an attack upon the Paroreatæ, and the Caucons, and expelled them from their country; dividing themselves afterwards into six bodies, they built the same number of towns, namely, Lepreus, Magistus, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epius, and Nudius: of these, the greater part have in my time been destroyed by the Eleans. The island before mentioned is called Theras, from the name of its founder.

CXLIX. The son of Theras refusing to sail with him, his father left him, as he himself observed, as a sheep amongst wolves; from which saying, the young man got the name of Oiokycus, which he ever after-

wards retained. Oiolycus had a son named *Ægeus*, who gave his name to the *Ægida*, a considerable Spartan tribe, who, finding themselves in danger of leaving no posterity behind them, built, by the direction of the oracle, a temple to the Furies of *Laius* and *Œdipus*; this succeeded to their wish. A circumstance similar to this happened afterwards in the island of *Thera*, to the descendants of this tribe.

CL. Thus far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians and Thereans agree; what follows, is related on the authority of the latter only:—*Grinus*, son of *Æsanus*, and descended from the above *Theras*, was prince of the island: he went to *Delphi*, carrying with him a hecatomb of sacrifice, and accompanied, among others of his citizens, by *Battus* the son of *Polymnestus*, of the family of *Euthymus* a *Minyan*; *Grinus*, consulting the oracle about something of a different nature, was commanded by the *Pythian* to build a city in *Libya*. “I,” replied the prince, “am too old and too infirm for such an undertaking; suffer it to devolve on some of these younger persons who accompany me;” at the same time he pointed to *Battus*. On their return, they paid no regard to the injunction of the oracle, being both ignorant of the situation of *Libya*, and not caring to send a colony on so precarious an adventure.

CLI. For seven years after the above event, it never rained in *Thera*; in consequence of which, every tree in the place perished, except one. The inhabitants consulted the oracle; when the sending a colony to *Libya* was again recommended by the *Pythian*: as therefore no alternative remained, they sent some emissaries into *Crete*, to inquire whether any of the natives or strangers residing among them had ever visited *Libya*. The persons employed on this occasion, after going over the whole island, came at length to the city *Itanus*, where they became acquainted with a certain dyer of purple, whose name was *Corobius*; this man informed them, that he was once driven by contrary winds into *Libya*, and had landed there, on the island of *Platea*: they therefore bargained with him for a certain sum, to accompany

them to Thera. Very few were induced to leave Thera upon this business; they who went were conducted by Corobius, who was left upon the island he had described, with provisions for some months; the rest of their party made their way back by sea, as expeditiously as possible, to acquaint the Thereans with the event.

CLII. By their omitting to return at the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the greatest distress; it happened, however, that a Samian vessel, whose commander's name was Colæus, was, in its course towards Egypt, driven upon the island of Platea; these Samians, hearing the story of Corobius, left him provisions for a twelvemonth. On leaving this island, with a wish to go to Egypt, the winds compelled them to take their course westward, and continuing thus, without intermission, carried them beyond the Columns of Hercules, till, as it should seem by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at Tartessus. As this was a port then but little known, their voyage ultimately proved very advantageous; so that, excepting Sostrates, with whom there can be no competition, no Greeks were ever before so fortunate in any commercial undertaking. With six talents, which was a tenth part of what they gained, the Samians made a brazen vase, in the shape of an Argolic goblet, round the brim of which the heads of griffins were regularly disposed: this was deposited in the temple of Juno, where it is supported by three colossal figures, seven cubits high, resting on their knees. This was the first occasion of the particular friendship, which afterwards subsisted between the Samians, and the people of Cyrene and Thera.

CLIII. The Thereans, having left Corobius behind, returned, and informed their countrymen that they had made a settlement in an island belonging to Libya: they, in consequence, determined, that a select number should be sent from each of their seven cities, and that if these happened to be brothers, it should be determined by lot who should go; and that final-

ly, Battus should be their prince and leader: to Plataea, they sent accordingly two ships of fifty oars.

CLIV. With this account, as given by the Thereans, the Cyreneans agree, except in what relates to Battus; here they differ exceedingly, and tell, in contradiction, the following history:—there is a town in Crete, named Oaxus, where Etearchus was once king; having lost his wife, by whom he had a daughter, called Phronima, he married a second time: no sooner did his last wife take possession of his house, than she proved herself to Phronima, a real step-mother. Not content with injuring her by every species of cruelty and ill-treatment, she at length upbraided her with being unchaste, and persuaded her husband to believe so. Deluded by the artifice of his wife, he perpetrated the following act of barbarity against his daughter: there was at Oaxus a merchant of Thera, whose name was Themison; of him, after showing him the usual rites of hospitality, he exacted an oath that he would comply with whatever he should require; having done this, he delivered him his daughter, ordering him to throw her into the sea. Themison reflected with unfeigned sorrow on the artifice which had been practised upon him, and the obligation imposed; he determined, however, what to do: he took the damsel, and having sailed to some distance from land, to fulfil his oath, he secured a rope about her, and plunged her into the sea; but he immediately took her out again, and carried her to Thera.

CLV. Here Polymnestus, a Therean of some importance, took Phronima to be his concubine, and after a certain time had a son by her, remarkable for his shrill and stammering voice: his name, as the Thereans and Cyreneans assert, was Battus, but I think it was something else. He was not, I believe, called Battus till after his arrival in Libya; he was then so named, either on account of the answer of the oracle, or from the subsequent dignity which he attained. Battus, in the Libyan tongue, signifies a prince; and I should think that the Pythian, foreseeing he was to reign in Libya, distinguished him by this African title. As soon as he grew up, he went

to Delphi, to consult the oracle concerning the imperfection of his voice : the answer he received was this :

Hence, Battus ! of your voice inquire no more ;
But found a city on the Libyan shore.

This is the same as if she had said in Greek, " Inquire no more, O king, concerning your voice." To this Battus replied, " O king, I came to you on account of my infirmity of tongue ; you, in return, impose upon me an undertaking which is impossible ; for how can I, who have neither forces nor money, establish a colony in Libya ?" He could not, however, obtain any other answer, which when he found to be the case, he returned to Thera.

CLVI. Not long afterwards, he, with the rest of the Thereans, was visited by many and great calamities ; and, not knowing to what cause they should impute them, they sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle on the subject. The Pythian informed them, that if, under the conduct of Battus, they would colonize Cyrene in Libya, things would certainly go better with them ; they accordingly despatched Battus to accomplish this, with two fifty-oared vessels. These men acting from compulsion, set sail for Libya, but soon returned to Thera ; but the Thereans, forcibly preventing their landing, ordered them to return from whence they came. Thus circumstanced, they again set sail, and founded a city in an island contiguous to Libya, called, as we have before remarked, Platea ; this city is said to be equal in extent to that in which the Cyreneans now reside.

CLVII. They continued in this place for the space of two years, but finding their ill-fortune still pursue them, they again sailed to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, leaving only one of their party behind them : when they desired to know why, having established themselves in Libya, they had experienced no favourable reverse of fortune, the Pythian made them this answer :—

Know'st thou then Libya better than the God,
Whose fertile shores thy feet have never trod ?
He who has well explor'd them, thus replies ;
I can but wonder at a man so wise !

On hearing this, Battus, and they who were with him, again returned; for the deity still persevered in requiring them to form a settlement in Libya, where they had not yet been: touching, therefore, at Platea, they took on board the man whom they had left, and established their colony in Libya itself. The place they selected was Aziris, immediately opposite to where they had before resided; two sides of which were inclosed by a beautiful range of hills, and a third agreeably watered by a river.

CLVIII. At this place they continued six years; when, at the desire of the Libyans, who promised to conduct them to a better situation, they removed. The Libyans accordingly became their guides, and had so concerted the matter, as to take care that the Greeks should pass through the most beautiful part of their country by night: the direction they took was westward, the name of the country they were not permitted to see was Irasa. They came at length to what is called the fountain of Apollo. "Men of Greece," said the Libyans, "the heavens are here opened to you, and here it will be proper for you to reside."

CLIX. During the life of Battus, who reigned forty years, and under Arcesilaus his son, who reigned sixteen, the Cyreneans remained in this colony, without any alteration with respect to their numbers: but under their third prince, who was also called Battus, and who was surnamed the Happy, the Pythian, by her declarations, excited a general propensity in the Greeks to migrate to Libya, and join themselves to the Cyreneans. The Cyreneans, indeed, had invited them to a share of their possessions, but the oracle had also thus expressed itself:

Who seeks not Libya 'till the lands are shar'd,
Let him for sad repentance be prepar'd.

The Greeks, therefore, in great numbers, settled themselves at Cyrene. The neighbouring Libyans with their king Adicran, seeing themselves injuriously deprived of a considerable part of their lands, and exposed to much insulting treatment, made an offer of

themselves and their country to Apries, sovereign of Egypt: this prince assembled a numerous army of Egyptians, and sent them to attack Cyrene. The Cyreneans drew themselves up at Irasa, near the fountain Thestis; and in a fixed battle routed the Egyptians, who till now, from their ignorance, had despised the Grecian power. The battle was so decisive, that very few of the Egyptians returned to their country; they were on this account, so exasperated against Apries, that they revolted from his authority.

CLX. Arcesilaus, the son of this Battus, succeeded to the throne; he was at first engaged in some contests with his brothers, but they removed themselves from him to another part of Libya, where, after some deliberation, they founded a city. They called it Barce, which name it still retains. Whilst they were employed upon this business, they endeavoured to excite the Libyans against the Cyreneans. Arcesilaus without hesitation commenced hostilities both against those who had revolted from him, and against the Libyans who received them; intimidated by which, these latter fled to their countrymen, who were situated more to the east. Arcesilaus persevered in pursuing them till he arrived at Leucon, and here the Libyans discovered an inclination to try the event of a battle. They accordingly engaged, and the Cyreneans were so effectually routed, that seven thousand of their men in arms fell in the field. Arcesilaus, after this calamity, fell sick, and was strangled by his brother Aliarchus, whilst in the act of taking some medicine. The wife of Arcesilaus whose name was Eryxo, revenged by some stratagem on his murderer, the death of her husband.

CLXI. Arcesilaus was succeeded in his authority by his son Battus, a boy who was lame, and had otherwise an infirmity in his feet. The Cyreneans, afflicted by their recent calamities, sent to Delphi, desiring to know what conduct would most effectually secure their tranquillity. The Pythian in reply, recommended to procure from Mantinea, in Arcadia, some one to compose their disturbances. Accordingly, at the

request of the Cyreneans, the Mantineans sent them Demonax, a man who enjoyed the universal esteem of his countrymen. Arriving at Cyrene, his first care was to make himself acquainted with their affairs; he then divided the people into three distinct tribes: the first comprehended the Thereans and their neighbours; the second the Peloponnesians and Cretans; the third all the inhabitants of the islands. He assigned a certain portion of land, with some distinct privileges, to Battus; but all the other advantages which the kings had before arrogated to themselves, he gave to the power of the people.

CLXII. Things remained in this situation during the life of Battus: but in the time of his son, an ambitious struggle for power was the occasion of great disturbances. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus, by Pheretime, refused to submit to the regulations of Demonax the Mantinean, and demanded to be restored to the dignity of his ancestors. A great tumult was excited, but the consequence was, that Arcesilaus was compelled to take refuge at Samos, whilst his mother Pheretime fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Euclithon had at this time the government of Salamis: the same person who dedicated at Delphi, a most beautiful censer, now deposited in the Corinthian treasury. To him, Pheretime made application, entreating him to lead an army against Cyrene, for the purpose of restoring her and her son. He made her many presents, but refused to assist her with an army. Pheretime accepted his liberality with thanks, but endeavoured to convince him that his assisting her with forces would be much more honourable. Upon her persevering in this request, after every present she received, Euclithon was at length induced to send her a gold spindle, and a distaff with wool; observing, that this was a more suitable present for a woman than an army. *

CLXIII. In the mean time Arcesilaus was indefatigable at Samos; by promising a division of lands, he assembled a numerous army: he then sailed to Delphi, to make inquiry concerning the event of his return. The Pythian made him this answer:—"To

four Batti, and to the same number of the name of Arcesilaus, Apollo has granted the dominion of Cyrene. Beyond these eight generations the deity forbids even the attempt to reign: to you it is recommended to return, and live tranquilly at home. If you happen to find a furnace filled with earthen vessels, do not suffer them to be baked, but throw them into the air: if you set fire to the furnace, beware of entering a place surrounded by water. If you disregard this injunction, you will perish yourself, as will also a very beautiful bull."

CLXIV. The Pythian made this reply to Arcesilaus: he however returned to Cyrene with the forces he had raised at Samos; and having recovered his authority, thought no more of the oracle. He proceeded to institute a persecution against those who, taking up arms against him, had compelled him to fly. Some of these sought and found a refuge in exile, others were taken into custody and sent to Cyprus, to undergo the punishment of death. These the Cnidians delivered, for they touched at their island in their passage, and they were afterwards transported to Thera; a number of them fled to a large tower, the property of an individual named Aglomachus, but Arcesilaus destroyed them, tower and all, by fire. No sooner had he perpetrated this deed, than he remembered the declaration of the oracle, which forbade him to set fire to a furnace filled with earthen vessels: fearing therefore to suffer for what he had done, he retired from Cyrene, which place he considered as surrounded by water. He had married a relation, the daughter of Alazir, king of Barce, to him therefore he went; but upon his appearing in public, the Barceans, in conjunction with some Cyrenean fugitives, put him to death, together with Alazir, his father-in-law. Such was the fate of Arcesilaus, he having, designedly or from accident, violated the injunctions of the oracle.

CLXV. Whilst the son was thus hastening his destiny at Barce, Pheretima, his mother, enjoyed at Cyrene, the supreme authority; and among other regal acts presided in the senate. But as soon as she re-

ceived intelligence of the death of Arcesilaus, she sought refuge in Egypt. Her son had some claims upon the liberality of Cambyses, son of Cyrus; he had delivered Cyrene into his power, and paid him tribute. On her arrival in Egypt, she presented herself before Aryandes in the character of a suppliant, and besought him to revenge her cause, pretending that her son had lost his life, merely on account of his attachment to the Medes.

CLXVI. This Aryandes had been appointed præfect of Egypt by Cambyses; but afterwards, presuming to rival Darius, he was by him put to death. He had heard, and indeed he had seen, that Darius was desirous to leave some monument of himself, which should exceed all the efforts of his predecessors. He thought proper to attempt somewhat similar; but it cost him his life. Darius had issued a coin of the very purest gold: the præfect of Egypt issued one of the purest silver, and called it an Aryandic. It may still be seen, and is much admired for its purity. Darius hearing of this, condemned him to death, pretending that he had rebelled against him.

CLXVII. At this time Aryandes, taking compassion on Pheretime, delivered to her command, all the land and sea forces of Egypt. He intrusted to Amasis, a Maraphian, the conduct of the army; and Badre, a Pasargadian by birth, had the direction of the fleet. Before however they proceeded on any expedition, a herald was despatched to Barce, demanding the name of the person who had assassinated Arcesilaus. The Barceans replied, that they were equally concerned, for he had repeatedly injured them all. Having received this answer, Aryandes permitted his forces to proceed with Pheretime.

CLXVIII. This was the pretence with Aryandes for commencing hostilities: but I am rather inclined to think that he had the subjection of the Libyans in view. The nations of Libya are many and various; few of them had ever submitted to Darius, and most of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Egypt, the Libyans are to be enumerated in the order following:—the first are the Adyrmachidæ, whose

manners are in every respect Egyptian; their dress is Libyan. On each leg, their wives wear a ring of brass. They suffer their hair to grow; if they catch any fleas upon their bodies, they first bite and then throw them away. They are the only people of Libya who do this. It is also peculiar to them to present their daughters to the king, just before their marriage, who may enjoy the persons of such as are agreeable to him. The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Egypt and the port of Pleunos.

CLXIX. Next to these are the Giligammæ, who dwell towards the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias. In the midst of this region is the island of Platea, which the Cyreneans colonized. The harbour of Menelaus and Aziris, possessed also by the Cyreneans, is upon the continent. Silphium begins where these terminate, and is continued from Platea to the mouth of the Syrtes. The manners of these people nearly resemble those of their neighbours.

CLXX. From the west, and immediately next to the Giligammæ, are the Asbystæ. They are above Cyrene, but have no communication with the sea-coasts, which are occupied by the Cyreneans: beyond all the Libyans, they are remarkable for their use of chariots drawn by four horses, and in most respects they imitate the manners of the Cyreneans.

CLXXI. On the western borders of this people, dwell the Auschisæ; their district commences above Barce, and is continued to the sea, near the Euesperides. The Cabales, an inconsiderable nation, inhabit towards the centre of the Auschisæ, and extend themselves to the sea-coast near Tauchira, a town belonging to Barce. The Cabales have the same customs as the people beyond Cyrene.

CLXXII. The powerful nation of the Nasamones border on the Auschisæ towards the west. This people during the summer season leave their cattle on the sea-coast, and go up the country to a place called *Augila* to gather dates. Upon this spot the palms are equally numerous, large, and fruitful: they also hunt for locusts, which having dried in the sun, they reduce them to a powder, and eat mixed with milk.

Each person is allowed to have several wives, with whom they cohabit in the manner of the Massagetæ, first fixing a staff in the earth before the tent. When the Nasamones marry, the bride on the first night permits every one of the guests to enjoy her person, each of whom makes her a present brought with him for the purpose. Their mode of divination and of taking an oath is this: they place their hands on the tombs of those who have been most eminent for their integrity and virtue, and swear by their names. When they exercise divination, they approach the monuments of their ancestors, and there, having said their prayers, compose themselves to sleep. They regulate their subsequent conduct by such visions as they may then have. When they pledge their word, they drink alternately from each other's hands. If no liquid is near, they take some dust from the ground, and lick it with their tongue.

CLXXIII. Next to the Nasamones are the Psylli, who formerly perished by the following accident: a south wind had dried up all their reservoirs, and the whole country, as far as the Syrtes, was destitute of water. They resolved accordingly, after a public consultation, to make a hostile expedition against this south wind; the consequence was (I only relate what the Africans inform me) that on their arrival in the deserts, the south wind overwhelmed them beneath the sands. The Psylli being thus destroyed, the Nasamones took possession of their lands.

CLXXIV. Beyond these to the south, in a country infested by savage beasts, dwell the Garamantes, who avoid every kind of communication with men, are ignorant of the use of all military weapons, and totally unable to defend themselves.

CLXXV. These people live beyond the Nasamones; but towards the sea-coast westward are the Macæ. It is the custom of this people to leave a tuft of hair in the centre of the head, carefully shaving the rest. When they make war, their only coverings are the skins of ostriches. The river Cinyps rises among them in a hill said to be sacred to the Graces, whence it continues its course to the sea. This hill of the Graces

is well covered with trees; whereas the rest of Africa, as I have before observed, is very barren of wood. The distance from this hill to the sea, is two hundred stadia.

CLXXVI. The Gindanes are next to the Macæ. Of the wives of this people, it is said that they wear as many bandages round their ankles as they have known men. The more of these each possesses, the more she is esteemed, as having been beloved by the greater number of the other sex.

CLXXVII. The neck of land which stretches from the country of the Gindanes towards the sea, is possessed by the Lotophagi, who live entirely upon the fruit of the lotos. The lotos is of the size of the mastic, and sweet like the date; and the Lotophagi make of it a kind of wine.

CLXXVIII. Towards the sea, the Machlyes border on the Lotophagi. They also feed on the lotos: though not so entirely as their neighbours. They extend as far as a great stream called the Triton, which enters into an extensive lake named Tritonis, in which is the island of Phla. An oracular declaration, they say, had foretold that some Lacedæmonians should settle themselves here.

CLXXIX. The particulars are these: when Jason had constructed the Argo at the foot of Mount Pelion, he carried on board a hecatomb for sacrifice, with a brazen tripod: he sailed round the Peloponnese, with the intention to visit Delphi. As he approached Malea, a north wind drove him to the African coast, and before he could discover land, he got amongst the shallows of the lake of Tritonis: not being able to extricate himself from this situation, a Triton is said to have appeared to him, and to have promised him a secure and easy passage, provided he would give him the tripod. To this Jason assented, and the Triton having fulfilled his engagement, he placed the tripod in his temple, from whence he communicated to Jason and his companions what was afterwards to happen. Among other things, he said, that whenever a descendant of these Argonauts should take away this tripod, there would be infallibly a hundred Gre-

cian cities near the lake of Tritonis. The Africans, hearing this prediction, are said to have concealed the tripod.

CLXXX. Next to the Machlyes live the Ausenses. The above two nations inhabit the opposite sides of lake Tritonis. The Machlyes suffer their hair to grow behind the head, the Ausenses before. They have an annual festival in honour of Minerva, in which the young women, dividing themselves into two separate bands, engage each other with stones and clubs. These rites, they say, were instituted by their forefathers, in veneration of her, whom we call Minerva; and if any one die in consequence of wounds received in this contest, they say that she was no virgin. Before the conclusion of the fight, they observed this custom: she who by common consent fought the best, has a Corinthian helmet placed upon her head, is clothed in Grecian armour, and carried in a chariot round the lake. How the virgins were decorated in this solemnity, before they had any knowledge of the Greeks, I am not able to say; probably they might use Egyptian arms. We may venture to affirm, that the Greeks borrowed from Egypt the shield and the helmet. It is pretended that Minerva was the daughter of Neptune, and the divinity of the lake Tritonis; and that from some trifling disagreement with her father, she put herself under the protection of Jupiter, who afterwards adopted her as his daughter. The connexion of this people with their women is promiscuous, not confining themselves to one, but living with the sex in brutal licentiousness. Every three months the men hold a public assembly, before which, each woman who has had a strong healthy boy, produces him, and the man whom he most resembles is considered as his father.

CLXXXI. The Libyans who inhabit the sea-coast, are called Nomades. The more inland parts of Libya, beyond these, abound with wild beasts; remoter still, is one vast sandy desert, from the Egyptian Thebes to the columns of Hercules. Penetrating this desert to the space of a ten days' journey, vast pillars of salt are discovered, from the summits of which flows a

stream of water equally cool and sweet. This district is possessed by the last of those, who inhabit the deserts beyond the centre and ruder parts of Libya. The Ammonians, who possess the temple of the Theban Jupiter, are the people nearest from this place to Thebes, from which they are distant a ten days' journey. There is an image of Jupiter at Thebes, as I have before remarked, with the head of a goat. The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm, as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point, they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines, its coldness diminishes; at sunset, it is again warm, and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the fountain of the sun.

CLXXXII. Passing onward beyond the Ammonians, into the desert for ten days more, another hill of salt occurs: it resembles that which is found amongst the Ammonians, and has a spring of water: the place is inhabited, and called Augila, and here the Nasamones come to gather their dates.

CLXXXIII. At another ten days' distance from the Augilæ, there is a second hill of salt with water, as well as a great number of palms, which, like those before described, are exceedingly productive: this place is inhabited by the numerous nation of the Garamantes; they cover the beds of salt with earth, and then plant it. From them to the Lotophagi is a very short distance; but from these latter, it is a journey of thirty days to that nation among whom is a species of oxen, which walk backwards whilst they are feeding; their horns are so formed that they cannot do otherwise; they are so long before, and curved in such a manner, that if they did not recede as they fed, they would stick in the ground; in other respects they do not differ from other animals of the same genus, unless we except the thickness of their skins. These Garamantes, sitting in carriages drawn by four horses, give chase to the Ethiopian Troglodytæ, who,

of all the people in the world of whom we have ever heard, are far the swiftest of foot: their food is lizards, serpents, and other reptiles; their language bears no resemblance to that of any other nation, for it is like the screaming of bats.

CLXXXIV. From the Garamantes, it is another ten days' journey to the Atlantes, where also is a hill of salt with water. Of all mankind of whom we have any knowledge, the Atlantes alone have no distinction of names; the body of the people are termed Atlantes, but their individuals have no appropriate appellation: when the sun is at the highest they heap upon it reproaches and execrations, because their country and themselves are parched by its rays. At the same distance onward, of a ten days' march, another hill of salt occurs, with water and inhabitants: near this hill stands mount Atlas, which at every approach is uniformly round and steep; it is so lofty that, on account of the clouds which in summer as well as winter envelop it, its summit can never be discerned; it is called by the inhabitants a pillar of heaven. From this mountain the people take their name of Atlantes: it is said of them, that they never feed on any thing which has life, and that they know not what it is to dream.

CLXXXV. I am able to call by name all the different nations as far as the Atlantes, but beyond these I have no knowledge. There is, however, from hence, a habitable country, as far as the columns of Hercules, and even beyond it. At the regular interval of a ten days' journey, there is a bed of salt, and inhabitants whose houses are formed from masses of salt. In this part of Libya it never rains, for if it did, these structures of salt could not be durable; they have here two sorts of salt, white and purple. Beyond this sandy desert, southward, to the interior parts of Libya, there is a vast and horrid space without water, wood, or beasts, and totally destitute of moisture.

CLXXXVI. Thus from Egypt, as far as lake Tritonis, the Libyans lead a pastoral life, living on flesh and milk, but, like the Egyptians, will neither eat

bull's flesh nor breed swine. The women of Cyrene also esteem it impious to touch a heifer, on account of the Egyptian Isis, in whose honour they solemnly observe both fast-days and festivals. The women of Barce abstain not only from the flesh of heifers, but of swine.

CLXXXVII. The Libyans, to the west of lake Tritonis, are not shepherds; they are distinguished by different manners, neither do they observe the same ceremonies with respect to their children. The greater number of these Libyan shepherds follow the custom I am about to describe, though I will not say it is the case indiscriminately with them all:—as soon as their children arrive at the age of four years, they burn the veins either of the top of the skull, or of the temples, with uncleansed wool: they are of opinion, that by this process all watery humours are prevented; and to this they impute the excellent health which they enjoy. It must be acknowledged, whatever may be the cause, that the Libyans are more exempt from disease than any other men. If the operation throws the children into convulsions, they have a remedy at hand; they sprinkle them with goats' urine, and they recover. I relate what the Libyans themselves affirm.

CLXXXVIII. As to their mode of sacrifice, having cut the ear of the victim which they intend as an offering for their first fruits, they throw it over the top of their dwelling, and afterwards break its neck: the only deities to whom they sacrifice, are the sun and moon, who are adored by all the Libyans; they who live near the lake Tritonis venerate Triton, Neptune, and Minerva, but particularly the last.

CLXXXIX. From these Libyans, the Greeks borrowed the vest, and the *Ægis*, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva; the vests, however, of the Libyan Minervas, are made of skin, and the fringe hanging from the *Ægis* is not composed of serpents, but of leather; in every other respect the dress is the same: it appears by the very name, that the robe of the statues of Minerva was borrowed from Libya. The women of this country wear below their garments

goat-skins without the hair, fringed and stained of a red colour; from which part of dress the word *Ægis* of the Greeks is unquestionably derived. I am also inclined to believe, that the loud cries which are uttered in the temples of that goddess, have the same origin; the Libyan women do this very much, but not disagreeably. From Libya also the Greeks borrowed the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

CXC. These Libyan Nomades observe the same ceremonies with the Greeks in the interment of the dead: we must except the Nasamones, who bury their deceased in a sitting attitude, and are particularly careful, as any one approaches his end, to prevent his expiring in a reclined posture. Their dwellings are easily moveable, and are formed of the asphodel shrub, secured with rushes. Such are the manners of these people.

CXCI. The Ausenses, on the western part of the river Triton, border on those Libyans who cultivate the earth, and have houses, and are called Maxyes: these people suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, but not on the left; they stain their bodies with vermilion, and pretend to be descended from the Trojans. This region, and indeed all the more western parts of Libya, is much more woody, and more infested with wild beasts, than that where the Libyan Nomades reside; for the abode of these latter, advancing eastward, is low and sandy. From hence westward, where those inhabit who till the ground, it is mountainous, full of wood, and abounding with wild beasts; here are found serpents of an enormous size, lions, elephants, bears, asps, and asses with horns. Here also are the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali, who, if the Libyans may be credited, have their eyes in their breasts; they have, moreover, men and women who are wild and savage; and many ferocious animals whose existence cannot be disputed.

CXCII. Of the animals above-mentioned, none are found amongst the Libyan Nomades; they have however pygargi, goats, buffaloes, and asses, not of that

species which have horns, but a particular kind which never drink. They have also oryxes of the size of an ox, whose horns are used by the Phœnicians to make the sides of their citharæ. In this region likewise there are bassaria, hyenas, porcupines, wild boars, dictyes, thoes, panthers, boryes, land crocodiles three cubits long, resembling lizards, ostriches, and small serpents, having each a single horn. Besides these animals, they have such as are elsewhere found, except the stag and the boar, which are never seen in Africa. They have also three distinct species of mice, some of which are called dipodes, others are called zegeries, which in the African tongue has the same meaning with the Greek word for hills. The other species is called the echines. There is moreover to be seen a kind of weasel in Silphium, very much like that of Tartessus. The above are all the animals amongst the Libyan Nomades, which my most diligent researches have enabled me to discover.

CXCIII. Next to the Maxyes are the Zaueses, whose women guide the chariots of war.

CXCIV. The people next in order are the Zygan-tes, amongst whom a great abundance of honey is found, the produce of their bees; but of this they say a great deal more is made by the natives. They all stain their bodies with vermillion, and feed upon monkeys, with which animal their mountains abound.

CXCV. According to the Carthaginians, we next meet with an island called Cyranis, two hundred stadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is easy, and it abounds with olives and vines. Here is a lake, from which the young women of the island draw up gold-dust with bunches of feathers besmeared with pitch. For the truth of this I will not answer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it seems the more probable, after having seen at Zacynthus pitch drawn from the bottom of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largest of which is seventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two orgyis. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle; the pitch attaches

itself to the myrtle, and is thus procured. It has a bituminous smell, but is in other respects preferable to that of Pieria. The pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpose by the side of the lake; and when a sufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in casks. Whatever falls into the lake passes under ground, and is again seen in the sea, at the distance of four stadia from the lake. Thus what is related of this island contiguous to Libya, seems both consistent and probable.

CXCVI. We have the same authority of the Carthaginians to affirm, that beyond the Columns of Hercules there is a country inhabited by a people with whom they have had commercial intercourse. It is their custom, on arriving among them, to unload their vessels, and dispose their goods along the shore. This done, they again embark, and make a great smoke from on board. The natives, seeing this, come down immediately to the shore, and placing a quantity of gold by way of exchange for the merchandise, retire. The Carthaginians then land a second time, and if they think the gold equivalent, they take it and depart; if not, they again go on board their vessels. The inhabitants return and add more gold, till the crews are satisfied. The whole is conducted with the strictest integrity, for neither will the one touch the gold till they have left an adequate value in merchandise, nor will the other remove the goods till the Carthaginians have taken away the gold.

CXCVII. Such are the people of Libya whose names I am able to ascertain; of whom the greater part cared but little for the king of the Medes, neither do they now. Speaking with all the precision I am able, the country I have been describing is inhabited by four nations only: of these, two are natives and two strangers. The natives are the Libyans and Ethiopians; one of whom possess the northern, the other the southern parts of Africa. The strangers are the Phœnicians and the Greeks.

CXCVIII. If we except the district of Cinyra, which bears the name of the river flowing through it, Libya in goodness of soil cannot, I think, be compared

either to Asia or Europe. Cinyps is totally unlike the rest of Libya, but is equal to any country in the world for its corn. It is of a black soil, abounding in springs, and never troubled with drought. It rains in this part of Africa, but the rains, though violent, are never injurious. The produce of corn is not exceeded by Babylon itself. The country also of the Euesperidæ is remarkably fertile; in one of its plentiful years it produces a hundred fold; that of Cinyps three hundred fold.

CXCIX. Of the part of Libya possessed by the Nomades, the district of Cyrene is the most elevated. They have three seasons, which well deserve admiration: the harvest and the vintage first commence upon the sea-coast; when these are finished, those immediately contiguous, advancing up the country, are ready; this region they call Buni. When the requisite labour has been here finished, the corn and the vines in the more elevated parts are found to ripen in progression, and will then require to be cut. By the time therefore that the first produce of the earth is consumed, the last will be ready. Thus for eight months in the year the Cyreneans are employed in reaping the produce of their lands.

CC. The Persians who were sent by Aryandes to avenge the cause of Pheretima, proceeding from Egypt to Barce, laid siege to the place, having first demanded the persons of those who had been accessory to the death of Arcesilaus. To this the inhabitants, who had all been equally concerned in destroying him, paid no attention. The Persians, after continuing nine months before the place, carried their mines to the walls, and made a very vigorous attack. Their mines were discovered by a smith, by means of a brazen shield. He made a circuit of the town; where there were no miners beneath, the shield did not reverberate, which it did wherever they were at work. The Barceans therefore dug countermines, and slew the Persians so employed. Every attempt to storm the place was vigorously defeated by the besieged.

CCI. After a long time had been thus consumed with considerable slaughter on both sides (as many

being killed of the Persians as of their adversaries) Amasis, the leader of the infantry, employed the following stratagem : being convinced that the Barceans were not to be overcome by any open attacks, he sunk in the night a large and deep trench : the surface of this he covered with some slight pieces of wood, then placing earth over the whole, the ground had uniformly the same appearance. At the dawn of the morning he invited the Barceans to a conference ; they willingly assented, being very desirous to come to terms. Accordingly they entered into a treaty, of which these were the conditions : it was to remain valid as long as the earth upon which the agreement was made should retain its present appearance. The Barceans were to pay the Persian monarch a certain reasonable tribute ; and the Persians engaged themselves, to undertake nothing in future to the detriment of the Barceans. Relying upon these engagements, the Barceans, without hesitation, threw open the gates of their city, going out and in themselves without fear of consequences, and permitting without restraint such of the enemy as pleased to come within their walls. The Persians withdrawing the artificial support of the earth, where they had sunk a trench, entered the city in crowds ; they imagined by this artifice that they had fulfilled all they had undertaken, and were brought back to the situation in which they were mutually before. For in reality, this support of the earth being taken away, the oath they had taken became void.

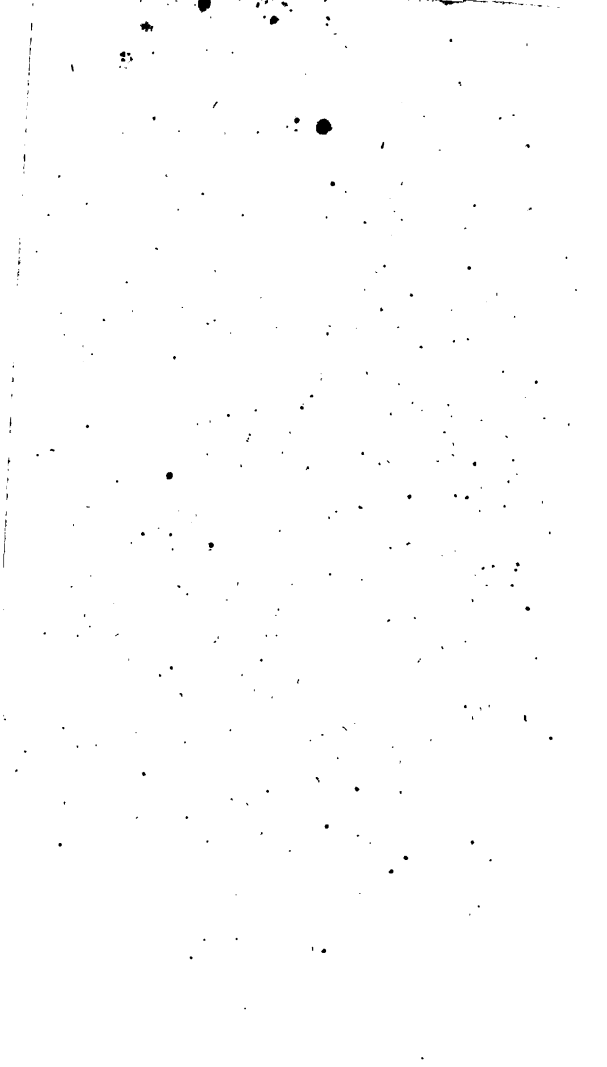
CCII. The Persians seized and surrendered to the power of Pheretime such of the Barceans as had been instrumental in the death of her son. These she crucified on different parts of the walls ; she cut off also the breasts of their wives, and suspended them in a similar situation. She permitted the Persians to plunder the rest of the Barceans, except the Battiadæ, and those who were not concerned in the murder. These she suffered to retain their situations and property.

CCIII. The rest of the Barceans being reduced to servitude, the Persians returned home. Arriving at

Cyrene, the inhabitants of that place granted them a free passage through their territories, from reverence to some oracle. Whilst they were on their passage, Bares, commander of the fleet, solicited them to plunder Cyrene; which was opposed by Amasis, leader of the infantry, who urged that their orders were only against Barce. When, passing Cyrene, they had arrived at the hill of the Lycæan Jupiter, they expressed regret at not having plundered it. They accordingly returned, and endeavoured a second time to enter the place; but the Cyreneans would not suffer them. Although no one attempted to attack them, the Persians were seized with such a panic, that, returning in haste, they encamped at a distance of about sixty stadia from the city. Whilst they remained here, a messenger came from Aryandes, ordering them to return. Upon this, the Persians made application to the Cyreneans for a supply of provisions; which being granted, they returned to Egypt. In their march they were incessantly harassed by the Libyans for the sake of their clothes and utensils. In their progress to Egypt, whoever was surprised or left behind was instantly put to death.

CCIV. The farthest progress of this Persian army was to the country of the Euesperidæ. Their Barcean captives they carried with them from Egypt to king Darius, who assigned them for their residence a portion of land in the Bactrian district, to which they gave the name of Barce; this has within my time contained a great number of inhabitants.

CCV. The life, however, of Pheretime had by no means a fortunate termination. Having gratified her revenge upon the Barceans, she returned from Libya to Egypt, and there perished miserably. Whilst alive, her body was destroyed by worms: thus it is that the gods punish those who have provoked their indignation; and such also was the vengeance which Pheretime, the wife of Battus, exercised upon the Barceans.



HERODOTUS.

BOOK V.

TERPSICHOE.

CHAPTER I.

THE Persians who had been left in Europe by Darius, under the conduct of Megabyzus, commenced their hostilities on the Hellespont with the conquest of the Perinthii, who had refused to acknowledge the authority of Darius, and had formerly been vanquished by the Pæonians. This latter people, inhabiting the banks of the Strymon, had been induced by an oracle to make war on the Perinthians: if the Perinthians on their meeting offered them battle, provoking them by name, they were to accept the challenge; if otherwise, they were to decline all contest. It happened accordingly, that the Perinthians marched into the country of the Pæonians, and, encamping before their town, sent them three specific challenges, a man to encounter with a man, a horse with a horse, a dog with a dog. The Perinthians having the advantage in the two former contests, sung with exultation a song of triumph; this the Pæonians conceived to be the purport of the oracle: "Now," they exclaimed, "the oracle will be fulfilled; this is the time for us." They attacked, therefore, the Perinthians, whilst engaged in their imaginary triumph, and obtained so signal a victory, that few of their adversaries escaped.

II. Such was the overthrow which the Perinthians received, in their conflict with the Pæonians: on the present occasion they fought valiantly, in defence of their liberties, against Megabyzus, but were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Persians. After the capture of Perinthus, Megabyzus overran Thrace

with his forces, and reduced all its cities and inhabitants under the power of the king: the conquest of Thrace had been particularly enjoined him by Darius.

III. Next to India, Thrace is of all nations the most considerable: if the inhabitants were either under the government of an individual, or united among themselves, their strength would in my opinion render them invincible; but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the Getæ, the Trausi, and those beyond Crestona, they are marked by a general similitude of manners.

IV. Of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have before spoken. The Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except in what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the midst of a circle of his relations, who lament aloud the evils which, as a human being, he must necessarily undergo, all of which they particularly enumerate; but whenever any one dies, the body is committed to the ground with clamorous joy; for the deceased, they say, delivered from his miseries, is then supremely happy.

V. Those beyond the Crestonians have these observances: each person has several wives; if the husband dies, a great contest commences amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them had been most beloved. She to whom this honour is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation on the tomb of her husband, with whom she is afterwards buried: his other wives esteem this an affliction, and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace.

VI. The other Thracians have a custom of selling their children, to be carried out of their country. To their young women they pay no regard, suffering them to connect themselves indiscriminately with men; but they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their parents at an immense price. To have punctures on the skin is with them a mark of

nobility, to be without these is a testimony of mean descent: the most honourable life with them is a life of indolence; the most contemptible, that of a husbandman. Their supreme delight is in war and plunder. Such are their more remarkable distinctions.

VII. The gods whom they worship are Mars, Bacchus, and Diana: besides these popular gods, and in preference to them, their princes worship Mercury. They swear by him alone, and call themselves his descendants.

VIII. The funerals of their chief men are of this kind: for three days the deceased is publicly exposed; then having sacrificed animals of every description, and uttered many and loud lamentations, they celebrate a feast, and the body is finally either burned or buried. They afterwards raise a mound of earth upon the spot, and celebrate games of various kinds, in which each particular contest has a reward assigned suitable to its nature.

IX. With respect to the more northern parts of this region, and its inhabitants, nothing has been yet decisively ascertained. What lies beyond the Ister, is a vast and almost endless space. The whole of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the Sigynæ, a people who in dress resemble the Medes; their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of five digits; they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness, for which reason carriages here are very common. The confines of this people extend almost to the Eneti on the Adriatic. They call themselves a colony of the Medes; how this could be, I am not able to determine, though in a long series of time it may not have been impossible. The Sigynæ are called merchants by the Ligurians, who lived beyond Massilia: with the Cyprians, Sigynæ is the name for spears.

X. The Thracians affirm that the places beyond the Ister are possessed wholly by bees, and that a passage beyond this is impracticable. To me this seems altogether impossible, for the bee is an insect known to be very impatient of cold; the extremity of which, as I should think, is what renders the parts to the north

uninhabitable. The sea-coast of this region was reduced by Megabyzus under the power of Persia.

XI. Darius having crossed the Hellespont, went immediately to Sardis, where he neither forgot the service of Histæus, nor the advice of Coës of Mitylene. He accordingly sent for these two persons, and desired them to ask what they would. Histæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, wished for no accession of power; he merely required the Edonian Myrcinus, with the view of building there a city: Coës, on the contrary, who was a private individual, wished to be made prince of Mitylene. Having obtained what they severally desired, they departed.

XII. Darius, induced by a circumstance of which he was accidentally witness, required Megabyzus to transport the Pæonians from Europe to Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were natives of Pæonia, the government of which became the object of their ambition. With these views, when Darius had passed over into Asia, they betook themselves to Sardis, carrying with them their sister, a person of great elegance and beauty. As Darius was sitting publicly in that division of the city appropriate to the Lydians, they took the opportunity of executing the following artifice: they decorated their sister in the best manner they were able, and sent her to draw water; she had a vessel upon her head, she led a horse by a bridle fastened round her arm, and she was moreover spinning some thread. Darius viewed her as she passed with attentive curiosity, observing that her employments were not those of the Persian, Lydian, nor indeed of any Asiatic female. He was prompted by what he had seen to send some of his attendants, who might observe what she did with the horse. They accordingly followed her: the woman, when she came to the river, gave her horse some water, and then filled her pitcher. Having done this, she returned by the way she came; with the pitcher of water on her head, the horse fastened by a bridle to her arm, and as before employed in spinning.

XIII. Darius, equally surprised at what he heard from his servants and had seen himself, sent for the woman to his presence. On her appearance, the bro-

thers, who had observed all from a convenient situation, came forwards, and declared that they were Pæonians, and the woman their sister. Upon this, Darius inquired who the Pæonians were, where their country was situated, and what had induced themselves to come to Sardis. The young men replied, "that as to themselves, their only motive was a desire of entering into his service; that Pæonia their country was situated on the banks of the river Strymon, at no great distance from the Hellespont." They added, "that the Pæonians were a Trojan colony." Darius then inquired if all the women in their country were thus accustomed to labour; they replied without hesitation in the affirmative, for this was the point they had particularly in view.

XIV. In consequence of the above, Darius sent letters to Megabyzus, whom he had left commander of his forces in Thrace, ordering him to remove all the Pæonians to Sardis, with their wives and families. The courier sent with this message instantly made his way to the Hellespont, which having passed, he presented Megabyzus with the orders of his master. Megabyzus accordingly lost no time in executing them; but taking with him some Thracian guides, led his army against Pæonia.

XV. The Pæonians being aware of the intentions of the Persians, collected their forces, and advanced towards the sea, imagining the enemy would there make their attack: thus they prepared themselves to resist the invasion of Megabyzus: but the Persian general being informed that every approach from the sea was guarded by their forces, under the direction of his guides made a circuit by the higher parts of the country, and thus eluding the Pæonians, came unexpectedly upon their towns, of which, as they were generally deserted, he took possession without difficulty. The Pæonians, informed of this event, dispersed themselves, and returning to their families submitted to the Persians. Thus, the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, and they who possess the country as far as the Prasian lake, were removed from their habitations, and transported to Asia.

XVI. The people in the vicinity of mount Pangæus, with the Doberæ, the Agrianæ, Odomanti, and those of the Prasian lake, Megabyzus was not able to subdue. They who lived upon the lake, in dwellings of the following construction, were the objects of his next attempt. In this lake, strong piles are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. These erections were in former times made at the public expense; but a law afterwards passed, obliging a man for every wife whom he should marry (and they allow a plurality) to drive three of these piles into the ground, taken from a mountain called Orbelus. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake, they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally with fish, of which there is such abundance, that if any one lets down a basket into the water, and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish. Of these they have two particular species, called papraces and tilones.

XVII. Such of the Pæonians as were taken captive, were removed into Asia. After the conquest of this people, Megabyzus sent into Macedonia seven Persians of his army, next in dignity and estimation to himself, requiring of Amyntas, in the name of Darius, earth and water. From the lake Prasis to Macedonia there is a very short passage; for upon the very brink of the lake is found the mine, which in after-times produced to Alexander a talent every day. Next to this mine is the Dysian mount; which being passed, you enter Macedonia.

XVIII. The Persians on their arrival were admitted to an immediate audience of Amyntas; when they demanded of him, in the name of Darius, earth and water. This was not only granted, but Amyntas received the messengers hospitably into his family, gave them a splendid entertainment, and treated them with particular kindness. When after the entertainment they began to drink, one of the Persians thus addressed Amyntas: "Prince of Macedonia, it is a custom

with us Persians, whenever we have a public entertainment, to introduce our concubines and young wives. Since, therefore, you have received us kindly, and with the rites of hospitality, and have also acknowledged the claims of Darius, in giving him earth and water, imitate the custom we have mentioned." "Persians," replied Amyntas, "our manners are very different, for our women are kept separate from the men. But since you are our masters, and require it, what you solicit shall be granted." Amyntas therefore sent for the women, who on their coming were seated opposite to the Persians. The Persians observing them beautiful, told Amyntas, that he was still defective: "for it were better," they exclaimed, "that that they had not come at all, than, on their appearing, not to suffer them to come near us, but to place them opposite, as a kind of torment to our eyes." Amyntas, acting thus under compulsion, directed the women to sit with the Persians. The women obeyed, and the Persians, warmed by their wine, began to put their hands to their bosoms, and to kiss them.

XIX. Amyntas observed this indecency with great vexation, though his awe of the Persians induced him not to notice it. But his son Alexander, who was also present, and witnessed their behaviour, being in the vigour of youth, and hitherto without experience of calamity, was totally unable to bear it. "Sir," said he to Amyntas, being much incensed, "your age is a sufficient excuse for your retiring; leave me to preside at the banquet, and to pay such attention to our guests as shall be proper and necessary." Amyntas could not but observe that the warmth of youth prompted his son to some act of boldness; he accordingly made him this reply: "I can plainly see your motive for soliciting my absence; you desire me to go, that you may perpetrate somewhat to which your spirit impels you; but I must insist upon it, that you do not occasion our ruin by molesting these men; suffer their indignities patiently. I shall however follow your advice, and retire." With these words, Amyntas left them.

XX. Upon this, Alexander thus addressed the Persians: "You are at liberty, Sirs, to repose yourselves

with any or with all of these females; I have only to require, that you will make your choice known to me. It is now almost time to retire, and I can perceive that our wine has had its effect upon you. You will please therefore to suffer these women to go and bathe themselves, and they shall afterwards return." The Persians approved of what he said, and the women retired to their proper apartments; but, in their room, he dressed up an equal number of smooth-faced young men, and arming each with a dagger, he introduced them to the company. "Persians," said he, on their entering, "we have given you a magnificent entertainment, and supplied you with every thing in our power to procure. We have also, which with us weighs more than all the rest, presented you with our matrons and our sisters, that we might not appear to you in any respect insensible of your merits; and that you may inform the king your master with what liberality a Greek and prince of Macedonia has entertained you at bed and at board." When he had thus said, Alexander commanded the Macedonians, whom he addressed as females, to sit by the side of the Persians; but on their first attempt to touch them, the Macedonians put every one of them to death.

XXI. These Persians with their retinue thus forfeited their lives; they had been attended on this expedition with a number of carriages and servants, all of which were seized and plundered. At no great interval of time, a strict inquisition was made by the Persians into this business; but Alexander, by his discretion, obviated its effects. To Bubaris, a native of Persia, and one of those who had been sent to inquire concerning the death of his countrymen, he made very liberal presents, and gave his sister in marriage. By these means the assassination of the Persian officers was overlooked and forgotten.

XXII. These Greeks were descended from Perdiccas: this they themselves affirm, and indeed I myself know it, from certain circumstances which I shall hereafter relate. My opinion of this matter is also confirmed by the determination of those who preside at the Olympic games: for when Alexander, with an ambi-

tion of distinguishing himself, expressed a desire of entering the lists, the Greeks, who were his competitors, repelled him with scorn, asserting, that this was a contest, not of Barbarians, but of Greeks; but he proved himself to be an Argive, and was consequently allowed to be a Greek. He was then permitted to contend, and was matched with the first combatant.

XXIII. I have related the facts which happened. Megabyzus, taking the Pæonians along with him, passed the Hellespont, and arrived at Sardis. At this period, Histæus the Milesian was engaged in surrounding with a wall, the place which had been given him by Darius, as a reward for his preserving the bridge; it is called Myrcinus, and is near the river Strymon. Megabyzus, as soon as he came to Sardis, and learned what had been done with respect to Histæus, thus addressed Darius: "Have you, Sir, done wisely, in permitting a Greek of known activity and abilities, to erect a city in Thrace? in a place which abounds with every requisite for the construction and equipment of ships; and where there are also mines of silver? A number of Greeks are there, mixed with Barbarians, who, making him their leader, will be ready on every occasion to execute his commands. Suffer him therefore to proceed no farther, lest a civil war be the consequence. Do not, however, use violent measures; but when you shall have him in your power, take care to prevent the possibility of his return to Greece."

XXIV. Darius was easily induced to yield to the arguments of Megabyzus, of whose sagacity he entirely approved. He immediately therefore sent him a message to the following purport: "Histæus, king Darius considers you as one of the ablest supports of his throne, of which he has already received the strongest testimony. He has now in contemplation a business of great importance, and requires your presence and advice." Histæus believed the messenger, and, delighted with the idea of being invited to the king's councils, hastened to Sardis, where on his arrival Darius thus addressed him: "Histæus, my motive for soliciting your presence is this; my not seeing

you at my return from Scythia filled me with the extreme regret; my desire to converse with you continually increased, being well convinced that there is no treasure so great as a sincere and sagacious friend, for of your truth as well as prudence, I have received the most satisfactory proofs. You have done well in coming to me; I therefore entreat you that, forgetting Miletus, and leaving the city you have recently built in Thrace, you will accompany me to Susa; you shall there have apartments in my palace, and live with me, my companion and my friend."

XXV. Darius, having thus accomplished his wishes, took Histæus with him, and departed for Susa. Artaphernes, his brother by the father's side, was left governor of Sardis; Otanes was intrusted with the command of the sea-coast. Sisamnes, the father of the latter, had been one of the royal judges; but having been guilty of corruption in the execution of his office, was put to death by Cambyzes. By order of this prince, the entire skin was taken from his body, and fixed over the tribunal at which he formerly presided. Cambyzes gave the office of Sisamnes to his son Otanes, commanding him to have constantly in memory on what tribunal he sat.

XXVI. Otanes having at first the above appointment, succeeded afterwards to the command of Megabyzus, when he reduced Byzantium and Chalcedon. He took also Lamponium and Antandros, which latter is in the province of Troy. With the assistance of a fleet from Lesbos, he made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi.

XXVII. The Lemnians fought with great bravery, and made a long and vigorous resistance, but were at length subdued. Over such as survived the conflict, the Persians appointed Lycaretus governor; he was the brother of Mæander, who had reigned at Samos, but he died during his government. All the above-mentioned people were reduced to servitude: it was pretended that some had been deserters in the Scythian expedition, and that others had harassed Darius in his

retreat. Such was the conduct of Otanes in his office, which he did not long enjoy with tranquillity.

XXVIII. The Ionians were soon visited by new calamities, from Miletus and from Naxos. Of all the islands, Naxos was the happiest; but Miletus might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its prosperity. In the two preceding ages it had been considerably weakened by internal factions, but the tranquillity of its inhabitants was finally restored by the interposition of the Parians, whom the Milesians had preferred on this occasion to all the other Greeks.

XXIX. To heal the disorders which existed among them, the Parians applied the following remedy:—those employed in this office were of considerable distinction; and perceiving, on their arrival at Miletus, that the whole state was involved in extreme confusion, they desired to examine the condition of their territories: wherever, in their progress through this desolate country, they observed any lands well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner. In the whole district, however, they found but few estates so circumstanced. Returning to Miletus, they called an assembly of the people, and they placed the direction of affairs in the hands of those who had best cultivated their lands; for they concluded that they would be watchful of the public interest, who had taken care of their own: they enjoined all the Milesians who had before been factious, to obey these men, and they thus restored the general tranquillity.

XXX. The evils which the Ionians experienced from these cities were of this nature:—some of the more noble inhabitants of Naxos, being driven by the common people into banishment, sought a refuge at Miletus; Miletus was then governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, the son-in-law and cousin of Histæus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa: Histæus was prince of Miletus, but was at Susa when the Naxians arrived in his dominions. These exiles petitioned Aristagoras to assist them with supplies, to enable them to return to their country: he immediately conceived the idea that, by accomplishing their

return, he might eventually become master of Naxos. He thought proper, however, to remind them of the alliance which subsisted betwixt Histæus and their countrymen; and he addressed them as follows: "I am not master of adequate force to restore you to your country, if they who are in possession of Naxos shall think proper to oppose me: the Naxians, I am told, have eight thousand men in arms, and many ships of war; I, nevertheless, wish to effect it, and I think it may be thus accomplished:—Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, is my particular friend; he has the command of all the sea-coast of Asia, and is provided with a numerous army, and a powerful fleet; he will, I think, do all that I desire." The Naxians instantly intrusted Anaxagoras with the management of the business, entreating him to complete it as he could; they engaged to assist the expedition with forces, and to make presents to Artaphernes; and they expressed great hopes that as soon as they should appear before the place, Naxos, with the rest of the islands, would immediately submit; for hitherto none of the Cyclades were under the power of Darius.

XXXI. Aristagoras went immediately to Sardis, where meeting with Artaphernes, he painted to him in flattering terms the island of Naxos, which, though of no great extent, he represented as exceedingly fair and fertile, conveniently situated with respect to Ionia, very wealthy, and remarkably populous. "It would be worth your while," said he, "to make an expedition against it, under pretence of restoring its exiles; to facilitate this, I already possess a considerable sum of money, besides what will be otherwise supplied. It is proper that we who set the expedition on foot should provide the contingent expenses; but you will certainly acquire to the king our master, Naxos with its dependencies, Paros and Andros, with the rest of the islands called the Cyclades: from hence you may easily attempt the invasion of Eubœa, an island large and fertile, and not at all inferior to Cyprus; this will afford you an easy conquest, and a fleet of a hundred ships will be sufficient to effect the whole." To this, Artaphernes replied; "What you recommend will,

unquestionably, promote the interest of the king, and the particulars of your advice are reasonable and consistent; instead of one hundred, a fleet of two hundred vessels shall be ready for you in the beginning of spring; it will be proper, however, to have the sanction of the king's authority."

XXXII. Pleased with the answer he received, Aristagoras returned to Miletus. Artaphernes sent immediately to acquaint Darius with the project of Aristagoras, which met his approbation; he accordingly fitted out two hundred triremes, which he manned partly with Persians, and partly with their allies. Megabates had the command of the whole; a Persian of the family of the Archæmenides, related to Darius and himself, whose daughter, if report may be credited, was, in succeeding times, betrothed to Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian, son of Cleombrotus, who aspired to the sovereignty of Greece. These forces, under the direction of this Megabates, were sent by Artaphernes to Aristagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates, embarking at Miletus, with Aristagoras, a body of Ionians, and the Naxians, pretended to sail towards the Hellespont; but arriving at Chios, he laid-to near Caucasa, meaning, under favour of a north wind, to pass from thence to Naxos. The following circumstance, however, happened, as if to prove it was ordained that the Naxians should not suffer from this expedition: Megabates, in going his rounds, found a Myndian vessel deserted by its crew; he was so exasperated, that he commanded his guards to find Scylax, who commanded it, and to bind him in such a situation, that his head should appear outwardly from the aperture through which the oar passed, his body remaining in the vessel. Aristagoras being informed of the treatment which his friend the Myndian had received, went to Megabates to make his excuse, and obtain his liberty; but as his expostulations proved ineffectual, he went himself and released Scylax. Megabates was much incensed, and expressed his displeasure to Aristagoras; from whom he received this reply: "Your authority," said Aristagoras, "does not extend so far as you suppose; you were sent to attend me, and to sail wherever I should think expedient;—

you are much too officious." Megabates took this censure so ill, that at the approach of night he despatched some emissaries to Naxos, to acquaint the inhabitants with the intended invasion.

XXXIV. Of this attack the Naxians had not the remotest expectation; but they took the advantage of the intelligence imparted to them, and provided against a siege, by removing their valuables from the fields to the town, and by laying up a store of water and provisions, and, lastly, by repairing their walls; they were thus prepared against every emergence, whilst the Persians, passing over from Chios to Naxos, found the place in a perfect state of defence. Having wasted four months in the attack, and exhausted all the pecuniary resources which themselves had brought, together with what Aristagoras supplied, they still found that much was wanting to accomplish their purpose; they erected, therefore, a fort for the Naxian exiles, and returned to the continent greatly disappointed.

XXXV. Aristagoras thus found himself unable to fulfil his engagements with Artaphernes; and he was also, to his great vexation, called upon to defray the expense of the expedition: he saw, moreover, in the person of Megabates, an accuser, and he feared that their ill success should be imputed to him, and made a pretence for depriving him of his authority at Miletus; all these motives induced him to meditate a revolt. Whilst he was in this perplexity, a messenger arrived from Histæus, at Susa, who brought with him an express command to revolt, the particulars of which were impressed in legible characters upon his skull. Histæus was desirous to communicate his intentions to Aristagoras: but as the ways were strictly guarded, he could devise no other method; he therefore took one of the most faithful of his slaves, and inscribed what we have mentioned upon his skull, being first shaved; he detained the man till his hair was again grown, when he sent him to Miletus, desiring him to be as expeditious as possible; Aristagoras being requested to examine his skull, he discovered the characters which commanded him to commence a revolt. To this measure Histæus was induced, by the vexa-

tion he experienced from his captivity at Susa. He flattered himself, that as soon as Aristagoras was in action, he should be able to escape to the sea-coast; but whilst every thing remained quiet at Miletus, he had no prospect of effecting his return.

XXXVI. With these views Histæus despatched his emissary; the message he delivered to Aristagoras was alike grateful and seasonable, who accordingly signified to his party, that his own opinions were confirmed by the commands of Histæus: his intentions to commence a revolt met with the general approbation of the assembly, Hecatæus the historian being the only one who dissented. To dissuade them from any act of hostility against the Persian monarch, Hecateus enumerated the various nations which Darius had subdued, and the prodigious power he possessed; when he found these arguments ineffectual, he advised them to let their fleet take immediate possession of the sea, as the only means by which they might expect success. He confessed that the resources of the Milesians were few; but he suggested the idea, that if they would make a seizure of the wealth deposited by Cræsus the Lydian in the Branchidian temple, they might promise themselves these two advantages; they would be able to make themselves masters of the sea, and by thus using these riches themselves, would prevent their being plundered by the enemy. That these riches were of very considerable value, I have explained in my first book. This advice, however, was as ill received, although the determination to revolt was fixed and universal: it was agreed, that one of their party should sail to the army, which, on its return from Naxos, had disembarked at Myus, with the view of seizing the persons of the officers.

XXXVII. Iatragoras was the person employed in this business; who so far succeeded, that he captured Oliatus the Mylassensian, son of Ibanolis; Histæus of Termene, son of Tymnis; Coës the son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mitylenè; together with Aristagoras the Cymæan, son of Heraclides; with many others. Aristagoras thus commenced a regular revolt, full of indignation against Darius. To

engage the Milesians to act in concert with him, he established among them a republican form of government. He adopted a similar conduct with respect to the rest of Ionia; and to excite a general prejudice in his favour, he expelled the tyrants from some places, and he also sent back those who had been taken in the vessels which served against Naxos, to the cities to which they severally belonged.

XXXVIII. The inhabitants of Mitylene had no sooner got Coës into their hands, than they put him to death, by stoning him. The Cymeans sent their tyrant back again; and the generality of those who had possessed the supreme authority being driven into exile, an equal form of government was established: this being accomplished, Aristagoras the Milesian directed magistrates, elected by the people, to be established in the different cities; after which he himself sailed in a trireme to Lacedæmon, convinced of the necessity of procuring some powerful allies.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, son of Leontes, did not then sit upon the throne of Sparta; he was deceased, and his son Cleómenes had succeeded him, rather on account of his family than his virtues. Anaxandrides had married his niece, of whom he was exceedingly fond, though she produced him no children; in consequence of which the ephori thus expostulated with him: "If you do not feel for yourself, you ought for us, and not suffer the race of Eurýstheneſ to be extinguished. As the wife which you now have is barren, repudiate her and marry another, by which you will much gratify your countrymen." He replied, that he could not comply with either of their requests, as he did not think them justifiable in recommending him to divorce an innocent woman, and to marry another.

XL. The ephori consulted with the senate, and made this reply: "We observe your excessive attachment to your wife; but if you would avoid the resentment of your countrymen, do what we advise: we will not insist upon your repudiating your present wife—behave to her as you have always done; but we wish you to marry another, by whom you may have offspring." To this, Anaxandrides assented, and

from that time, had two wives, and two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country.

XLI. After no great interval of time, the woman whom he last married, produced him this Cleomenes, the presumptive heir of his dominions: about the same period his former wife, who had hitherto been barren, proved with child. Although there was not the smallest doubt of her pregnancy, the relations of the second wife, vexed at the circumstance, industriously circulated a report, that she had not conceived, but intended to impose upon them a supposititious child. Instigated by these insinuations, the ephori distrusted and narrowly observed her; she was, however, delivered first of Dorieus, afterwards of Leonidas, and lastly of Cleombrotus; by some it has been affirmed, that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus, had never any other child but Cleomenes.

XLII. Of Cleomenes it is reported, that he had not the proper use of his faculties, but was insane; Dorieus, on the contrary, was greatly distinguished by his accomplishments, and trusted to find his way to the throne, by valour and by merit. On the death of Anaxandrides, the Lacedæmonians, agreeably to the custom of their nation, preferred Cleomenes, as eldest, to the sovereignty. This greatly disgusted Dorieus, who did not choose to become the dependant of his brother; taking with him, therefore, a number of his countrymen, he left Sparta, and founded a colony: but so impetuous was his resentment, that he neglected to inquire of the Delphic oracle where he should fix his residence; nor did he observe any of the ceremonies usual on such occasions. Under the conduct of some Thereans, he sailed to Libya, and settled on the banks of a river near Cinyra, one of the most delightful situations in that part of the world: in the third year of his residence, being expelled by the joint efforts of the Macæ, a people of Libya, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponnese.

XLIII. Here Antichares of Elis, advised him, in conformity to the oracles of Laius, to found Heraclea,

in Sicily; affirming, that all the region of Eryx was the property of the Heraclidæ, as having belonged to Hercules: he accordingly went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether the country where he was about to reside would prove a permanent acquisition. The reply of the Pythian being favourable, he embarked in the same vessels which had accompanied him from Libya, and sailed to Italy.

XLIV. At this period, as is reported, the Sybarites, under the conduct of Telys their king, meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of Crotona; apprehensive of which, these latter implored the assistance of Dorieus; he listened to their solicitations, and joining forces, he marched with them against Sybaris, and took it. The Sybarites say, that Dorieus and his companions did this; but the people of Crotona deny that in their contest with the Sybarites they availed themselves of the assistance of any foreigner, except Callias of Elis, a priest of the family of the Iamidæ. He had fled from Telys, prince of Sybaris, because on some solemn sacrifice he was not able from inspecting the entrails of the victim to promise success against Crotona. The matter is thus differently stated by the two nations.

XLV. The proofs of what they severally assert are these:—the Sybarites show near the river Crastis, which is sometimes dry, a sacted edifice, built, as they affirm, by Dorieus after the capture of his city, and consecrated to the Crastian Minerva. The death of Dorieus himself is another, and with them the strongest testimony, for he lost his life whilst acting in opposition to the express commands of the oracle. For if he had confined his exertions to what was the avowed object of his expedition, he would have obtained, and effectually secured, the possession of the region of Eryx; and thus have preserved himself and his followers. The inhabitants of Crotona are satisfied with exhibiting certain lands, given to the Elean Callias, in the district of Crotona, which even within my remembrance the descendants of Callias possess: this was not the case with Dorieus, nor any of his posterity. It must be obvious, that if this Dorieus, in the

war above-mentioned, had assisted the people of Crotona, they would have given more to him than to Callias. To the above different testimonies, every person is at liberty to give what credit he thinks proper.

XLVI. Amongst those who accompanied Dorieus, with a view of founding a colony, were Thessalus, Paræbates, Celees, and Euryleon, all of whom, Euryleon excepted, fell in an engagement with the Phœnicians and Ægistans, on their happening to touch at Sicily: this man, collecting such as remained of his companions, took possession of Minoas, a Selinusian colony, which he delivered from the oppression of Pythagoras. Euryleon, putting the tyrant to death, assumed his situation and authority. These, however, he did not long enjoy, for the Selinusians rose in a body against him, and slew him before the altar of Jupiter Forensis; whither he had fled for refuge.

XLVII. Philip, a native of Crotona, and son of Butacides, was the companion of Dorieus in his travels and death: he had entered into engagements of marriage with the daughter of Telys of Sybaris, but not choosing to fulfil them, he left his country, and went to Cyrene; from hence also he departed, in search of Dorieus, in a three-oared vessel of his own, manned with a crew provided at his own expense: he had been victorious in the Olympic games, and was confessedly the handsomest man in Greece. On account of his accomplishments of person, the people of Ægestus distinguished him by very unusual honours; they erected a monument over the place of his interment, where they offered sacrifices as to a divinity.

XLVIII. We have above related the fortunes and death of Dorieus. If he could have submitted to the authority of his brother Cleomenes, and had remained at Lacedæmon, he would have succeeded to the throne of Sparta. Cleomenes, after a very short reign, died, leaving an only child, a daughter, of the name of Gorgo.

XLIX. During the reign of Cléomenes, Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, arrived at Sparta: the Lacedæmonians affirm, that desiring to have a conference with their sovereign, he appeared before him with a tablet of brass in his hand, upon which was inscribed every

known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers. He thus addressed the Spartan monarch: "When you know my business, Cleomenes, you will cease to wonder at my zeal in desiring to see you. The Ionians, who ought to be free, are in a state of servitude, which is not only disgraceful, but also a source of the extremest sorrow to us, as it must also be to you, who are so pre-eminent in Greece. I entreat you, therefore, by the gods of Greece, to restore the Ionians to liberty, who are connected with you by ties of consanguinity. The accomplishment of this will not be difficult; the Barbarians are by no means remarkable for their valour, whilst you, by your military virtue, have attained the summit of renown. They rush to the combat armed only with a bow and a short spear; their robes are long, they suffer their hair to grow, and they will afford an easy conquest; add to this, that they who inhabit the continent are affluent beyond the rest of their neighbours. They have abundance of gold, of silver, and of brass; they enjoy a profusion of every article of dress, have plenty of cattle, and a prodigious number of slaves: all these, if you think proper, may be yours. The nations by which they are surrounded I shall explain: next to these Ionians are the Lydians, who possess a fertile territory, and a profusion of silver." Saying this, he pointed on the tablet in his hand, to the particular district of which he spake. "Contiguous to the Lydians," continued Aristagoras, "as you advance towards the east, are the Phrygians, a people who, beyond all the nations of whom I have any knowledge, enjoy the greatest abundance of cattle, and of the earth's produce. The Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, join to the Phrygians; then follow the Cilicians, who possess the scattered islands of our sea, in the vicinity of Cyprus: these people pay annually to the king a tribute of five hundred talents. The Armenians, who have also great plenty of cattle, border on the Cilicians. The Armenians have for their neighbours the Matieni, who inhabit the region contiguous to Cissia: in this latter district, and not far remote from the river Choaspes, is Susa, where the Persian monarch occasion-

ally resides, and where his treasures are deposited. Make yourselves masters of this city, and you may vie in affluence with Jupiter himself. Lay aside, therefore, the contest in which you are engaged with the Messenians, who equal you in strength, about a tract of land not very extensive, nor remarkably fertile. Neither are the Arcadians, nor the Argives, proper objects of your ambition, who are destitute of those precious metals which induce men to brave dangers and death: but can any thing be more desirable, than the opportunity now afforded you, of making the entire conquest of Asia?" Aristagoras here finished. "Milesian friend," replied Cleomenes, "in the space of three days you shall have our answer."

L. On the day, and at the place appointed, Cleomenes inquired of Aristagoras how many days' journey it was from the Ionian sea to the dominions of the Persian king. Aristagoras, though very sagacious, and thus far successful in his views, was here guilty of an oversight: As his object was to induce the Spartans to make an incursion into Asia, it was his interest to have concealed the truth, but he inconsiderately replied, that it was a journey of about three months. As he proceeded to explain himself, Cleomenes interrupted him; "Stranger of Miletus," said he, "depart from Sparta before sunset: what you say cannot be agreeable to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to lead us a march of three months from the sea." Having said this, Cleomenes withdrew.

LI. Aristagoras taking a branch of olive in his hand, presented himself before the house of Cleomenes, entering which as a suppliant, he requested an audience, at the same time desiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that Gorgo, the only child of Cleomenes, was present, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that the presence of the child might be no obstruction to what he had to say. Aristagoras then promised to give him ten talents if he would accede to his request. As Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras rose in his offers to fifty talents; upon which the child exclaimed, "Father, unless you withdraw, this stranger will corrupt you." The prince

was delighted with the wise saying of his daughter, and instantly retired. Aristagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in disgust.

LII. In that space of country about which Cleomenes had inquired, the Persian king has various stathmi, or mansions, with excellent inns; these are all splendid and beautiful, the whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and secure. In the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, twenty of the above stathmi occur, within the space of ninety parasangs and a half. Leaving Phrygia, you meet with the river Halys, where there are gates which are strongly defended, but which must be necessarily passed. Advancing through Cappadocia, to the confines of Cilicia, in the space of one hundred and four parasangs, there are eight and twenty stathmi. At the entrance of Cilicia are two necks of land, both well defended; passing beyond which through the country, are three stathmi in the space of fifteen parasangs and a half: Cilicia, as well as Armenia, are terminated by the Euphrates, which is only passable in vessels. In Armenia, and within the space of fifty-six parasangs and a half, there are fifteen stathmi, in which also are guards: through this country flow the waters of four rivers, the passage of which is indispensable, but can only be effected in boats. Of these the first is the Tigris; by the same name also the second and the third are distinguished, though they are by no means the same, nor proceeding from the same source: of these latter the one rises in Armenia, the other among the Matieni. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels. From Armenia to the country of the Matieni, are four stathmi: from hence, through Cissia, as far as the river Choaspes, there are eleven stathmi, and a space of forty-two parasangs and a half. The Choaspes is also to be passed in boats, and beyond this Susa is situated. Thus it appears, that from Sardis to Susa are one hundred and eleven stations, or stathmi.

LIII. If this measurement of the royal road by parasangs, be accurate, and a parasang be supposed

equal to thirty stadia, which it really is, from Sardis to the royal residence of Memnon are thirteen thousand five hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty parasangs: allowing, therefore, one hundred and fifty stadia to each day, the whole distance will be a journey of ninety entire days.

LIV. Aristagoras was, therefore, correct in telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was a three months' march to the residence of the Persian monarch. For the benefit of those who wish to have more satisfactory information on the subject, it may not be amiss to add the particulars of the distance betwixt Sardis and Ephesus. From the Greek sea to Susa, the name by which the city of Memnon is generally known, is fourteen thousand and forty stadia; from Ephesus to Sardis is five hundred and forty stadia; thus three days must be added to the computation of the three months.

LV. From Sparta Aristagoras went to Athens, which at this period had recovered its liberty: Aristogiton and Harmodius, who were Gephyreans by descent, had put to death Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias the tyrant. We are informed that Hipparchus had received intimation in a vision of the disaster which afterwards befell him; though for four years after his death, the people of Athens suffered greater oppression than before.

LVI. The particulars of the vision which Hipparchus saw are thus related: in the night preceding the festival of the Panathenæa, Hipparchus beheld a tall and comely personage, who addressed him in these ambiguous terms:

Brave lion, thy unconquer'd soul composed
To meet unmov'd intolerable woes:
In vain th' oppressor would elude his fate,
The vengeance of the gods is sure, though late.

As soon as the morning appeared, he disclosed what he had seen to the interpreters of dreams. He however slighted the vision, and was killed in the celebration of some public festival.

LVII. The Gephyreans, of which nation were the assassins of Hipparchus, came, as themselves affirm, originally from Eretria. But the result of my inquiries

enables me to say that they were Phœnicians, and of those who accompanied Cadmus into the region now called Bœotia, where they settled, having the district of Tanagria assigned them by lot. The Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives; the Bœotians afterwards drove out the Gephyreans, who took refuge at Athens. The Athenians enrolled them among their citizens, under certain restrictions of trifling importance.

LVIII. The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyreans were a part, introduced during their residence in Greece the knowledge of various articles of science, and among other things letters, with which, as I conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were at first such as the Phœnicians themselves indiscriminately use; in process of time, however, they were changed both in sound and form. At that time the Greeks most contiguous to this people were the Ionians, who learned these letters of the Phœnicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phœnicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required, Phœnician letters. By a very ancient custom, the Ionians call their books *diphtera* or skins, because at a time when the plant of the biblos was scarce, they used instead of it the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the Barbarians have used these skins for this purpose within my recollection.

LIX. I myself have seen, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, at Thebes, of Bœotia, these Cadmean letters inscribed upon some tripods, and having a near resemblance to those used by the Ionians. One of the tripods has this inscription:—

Amphytrion's present from Teleboan spoils.

This must have been about the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, whose father was Polydore, the son of Cadmus.

LX. Upon the second tripod, are these hexameter verses:—

Scaus, victorious pugilist, bestow'd
Me, a fair offering, on the Delphic god.

This Scaus was the son of Hippocoon, if indeed it

was he who dedicated the tripod, and not another person of the same name, cotemporary with Œdipus, the son of Laius.

LXI. The third tripod bears this inscription in hexameters:—

Royal Laodamas to Phœbus' shrine
This tripod gave, of workmanship divine.

Under this Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, who had the supreme power, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and fled to the Encheleans. The Gephyreans were compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens. Here they built temples for their own particular use, resembling in no respect those of the Athenians, as may be seen in the edifice and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. Thus have I related the vision of Hipparchus, and the origin of the Gephyreans, from whom the conspirators against Hipparchus were descended: but it will be proper to explain more at length, the particular means by which the Athenians recovered their liberty, which I was beginning to do before. Hippias had succeeded to the supreme authority, and, as appeared by his conduct, greatly resented the death of Hipparchus. The Alcæonidæ, who were of Athenian origin, had been driven from their country by the Pisistratidæ: they had, in conjunction with some other exiles, made an effort to recover their former situations, and to deliver their country from its oppressors, but were defeated with considerable loss. They retired to Libydrum beyond Pæonia, which they fortified, still meditating vengeance against the Pisistratidæ. Whilst they were thus circumstanced, the Amphyctions engaged them upon certain terms to construct that which is now the temple of Delphi, but which did not exist before. They were not deficient in point of wealth; and, warmed with the generous spirit of their race, they erected a temple far exceeding the model which had been given, in splendour and in beauty. Their agreement only obliged them to construct it of the stone of Porus, but they built the vestibule of Parian marble.

LXIII. These men, as the Athenians relate, during their continuance at Delphi, bribed the Pythian to

propose to every Spartan who should consult her, in a private or public capacity, the deliverance of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, hearing incessantly the same thing repeated to them, sent an army under the conduct of Anchimolius, son of Aster, a man of a very popular character, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. They in this respect violated some very ancient ties of hospitality; but they thought it better became them to listen to the commands of Heaven, than to any human consideration. These forces were despatched by sea, and being driven to Phalerus, were there disembarked by Anchimolius. The Pisistratidæ being aware of this, applied for assistance to the Thesalians, with whom they were in alliance. The people of Thessaly obeyed the summons, and sent them a thousand horse, commanded by Cineas, their king, a native of Coniæus: on the arrival of their allies, the Pisistratidæ levelled all the country about Phalerus, and thus enabling the cavalry to act, they sent them against the Spartans. They accordingly attacked the enemy, and killed several, among whom was Anchimolius. Those who escaped were driven to their vessels. Thus succeeded the first attempt of the Lacedæmonians: the tomb of Anchimolius is still to be seen near the temple of Hercules, in Cynosarges, in the district of Alopece, in Attica.

LXIV. The Lacedæmonians afterwards sent a greater body of forces against Athens, not by sea, but by land, under the direction of their king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides. These, on their first entrance into Attica, were attacked by the Thessalian horse, who were presently routed, with the loss of forty of their men; the remainder retired, without any farther efforts, into Thessaly. Cleomenes advancing to the city, was joined by those Athenians who desired to be free; in conjunction with whom he besieged the tyrants in the Pelægian citadel.

LXV. The Lacedæmonians would have found themselves finally inadequate to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, for they were totally unprepared for a siege, whilst their adversaries were well provided with necessaries. After therefore continuing the blockade for

a few days, they were about to return to Sparta, when an accident happened, as fatal to one party, as favourable to the other. The children of the Pisistratidæ, in their attempts privately to escape, were taken prisoners: this incident reduced them to extreme perplexity, so that finally, to recover their children, they submitted to such terms as the Athenians imposed, and engaged to leave Attica within five days. Thus, after enjoying the supreme authority for thirty-six years, they retired to Sigeum beyond the Scamander. They were in their descent Pyliaus, of the family of Peleus; they were by birth related to Codrus and Melanthus, who had also obtained the supreme power at Athens, though strangers like themselves. In memory of which Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, had named his son from the son of Nestor. The Athenians were thus delivered from oppression; and it will now be my business to commemorate such prosperous or calamitous events as they experienced after they had thus recovered their liberties, before Ionia had revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras the Milesian had arrived at Athens to supplicate assistance.

LXVI. Athens was considerable before, but, its liberty being restored, it became greater than ever. Of its citizens, two enjoyed more than common reputation: Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcmaeonidæ, who according to the voice of fame had corrupted the Pythian; and Isagoras, son of Tisander, who was certainly of an illustrious origin, but whose particular descent I am not able to specify. The individuals of this family sacrifice to the Carian Jupiter: these two men, in their contention for superiority, divided the state into factions: Clisthenes, who was worsted by his rival, found means to conciliate the favour of the people. The four tribes, which were before named from the sons of Ion, Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, he divided into ten, naming them according to his fancy, from the heroes of his country. One, however, he called after Ajax, who had been the neighbour and ally to his nation.

LXVII. In this particular, Clisthenes seems to me to have imitated his grandfather of the same name by

his mother's side, who was prince of Sicyon: this Clisthenes having been engaged in hostilities with the Argives, abolished at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists, which he was induced to do, because in the verses of Homer, which were there generally selected for this purpose, Argos and its inhabitants were such frequent objects of praise. From the same motive, he was solicitous to expel the relics of Adrastus, an Argive, the son of Talaus, which were deposited in the forum of Sicyon; he went therefore to inquire of the Delphic oracle, whether he might expel Adrastus. The Pythian said in reply, that Adrastus was a prince of Sicyon, whilst he (Clisthenes) was a robber. Meeting with this repulse from the oracle, he on his return concerted other means to rid himself of Adrastus. Thinking he had accomplished this, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia to bring back Melanippus, a native of Sicyon, and son of Astacus. By the consent of the Thebans, his request was granted; he then erected to his honour a shrine in the Prytaneum, and deposited his remains in a place strongly fortified. His motive for thus bringing back Melanippus, which ought not to be omitted, was the great enmity which subsisted betwixt him and Adrastus, and farther, because Melanippus had been accessory to the deaths of Mecistes the brother, and Tydeus the son-in-law of Adrastus. When the shrine was completed, Clisthenes assigned to Melanippus the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus, and were solemnized by the Sicyonians with the greatest pomp and magnificence. This district had formerly been under the sovereignty of Polybus, who dying without children, had left his dominions to Adrastus, his grandson by a daughter. Among other marks of honour which the Sicyonians paid the memory of Adrastus, they commemorated in tragic choruses his personal misfortunes, to the neglect even of Bacchus. But Clisthenes appropriated the choruses to Bacchus, and the other solemnities to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He changed also the names of the Doric tribes, that those of the Sicyonians might be altogether different from those of the Argives, by which

means he made the Sicyonians extremely ridiculous. He distinguished the other tribes by the words *Hys* and *Onos*, superadding only their respective terminations: to his own tribe he prefixed the word *Arche*, expressive of authority; those of his own tribe were therefore termed *Archelaens*; of the others, some were called *Hyatæ*, some *Oneatæ*, others *Chæræatæ*. The Sicyonians were known by these appellations during the time of *Clisthenes*, and for sixty years afterwards. After this period, in consequence of a consultation held among themselves, they changed these names to *Hylleans*, *Pamphylians*, and *Dymanatæ*. To these they added a fourth tribe, which in honour of *Ægiæleus*, son of *Adrastus*, they called *Ægiæleans*.

LXIX. Such was the conduct of *Clisthenes* of *Sicyon*. The *Clisthenes* of *Athens*, grandson of the former by a daughter, and named after him, was, as it appears to me, desirous of imitating him from whom he was called. To show his contempt of the *Ionians*, he would not suffer the tribes of *Athens* to bear any resemblance to those of *Ionia*. Having conciliated his countrymen, who had before been averse to him, he changed the names of the tribes, and increased their number. Instead of four *phylarchi* he made ten, into which number of tribes he also divided the people; by which means he so conciliated their favour, that he obtained a decided superiority over his opponents.

LXX. *Isagoras*, though overcome, endeavoured to recover his importance; he accordingly applied to *Cleomenes* the *Spartan*, with whom he had formed the tie of hospitality whilst he was besieging the *Pisistratidæ*, and who had been suspected of an improper connexion with *Isagoras's* wife. The *Lacedæmonian* prince, sending a herald before him, pronounced sentence of expulsion against *Clisthenes*, and many other *Athenians*, on pretence of their being polluted by sacrilegious murder. *Isagoras* prevailed upon him to make this his excuse, because the *Alcmæonidæ*, with those of their party, had been guilty of a murder, in which neither *Isagoras* nor any of his followers were concerned.

LXXI. The reason why these *Athenians* were

called polluted, was this : Cylon, a native of Athens, who had obtained the prize in the Olympic games, had been convicted of designs upon the government, for, having procured a number of young men of the same age with himself, he endeavoured to seize the citadel ; disappointed in his hopes, he with his companions placed themselves before the shrine of Minerva, as suppliants. The Prytanes of the Naucrari, who then governed Athens, persuaded them to leave this sanctuary, under a promise that their lives should not be forfeited. Their being soon afterwards put to death was generally imputed to the Alcmaeonidæ. These events happened before the time of Pisistratus.

LXXII. Cleomenes having thus ordered the expulsion of Clisthenes, and the other polluted persons, though Clisthenes had privately retired, came soon afterwards to Athens with a small number of attendants. His first step was, to send into exile as polluted seven hundred Athenian families, which Isagoras pointed out to him. He next proceeded to dissolve the senate, and to intrust the offices of government with three hundred of the faction of Isagoras. The senate exerted themselves, and positively refused to acquiesce in his projects ; upon which Cleomenes, with Isagoras and his party, seized the citadel ; they were here, for the space of two days, besieged by the Athenians in a body, who took the part of the senate. Upon the third day certain terms were offered, and accepted, and the Spartans all of them departed from Athens : thus an omen which happened to Cleomenes was accomplished. For when he was employed in the seizure of the citadel, he desired to enter the sanctuary and consult the goddess ; the priestess, as he was about to open the doors, rose from her seat, and forbade him in these terms : " Lacedæmonian, return, presume not to enter here, where no admittance is permitted to a Dorian." " I," returned Cleomenes, " am not a Dorian, but an Achean." This omen, however, had no influence upon his conduct ; he persevered in what he had undertaken, and with his Lacedæmonians was a second time foiled. The Athenians who had joined themselves to him were put in irons, and condemned to die : amongst

these was Timesitheus of Delphi, concerning whose gallantry and spirit I am able to produce many testimonies. These Athenians were put to death in prison.

LXXIII. The Athenians having recalled Clisthenes, and the seven hundred families expelled by Cleomenes, sent ambassadors to Sardis, to form an alliance with the Persians; for they were well convinced that they should have to support a war against Cleomenes and Sparta. On their arrival at Sardis, and explaining the nature of their commission, Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and chief magistrate of Sardis, inquired of them who they were and where they lived, who desired to become the allies of Persia. Being satisfied in this particular, he made them this abrupt proposition: if the Athenians would send to Darius earth and water, he would form an alliance with them; if not, they were immediately to depart. After deliberating on the subject, they acceded to the terms proposed, for which, on their return to Athens, they were severely reprehended.

LXXIV. Cleomenes knowing that he was reproached, and feeling that he was injured by the Athenians, levied forces in the different parts of the Peloponnese, without giving any intimation of the object he had in view. He proposed, however, to take vengeance on Athens, and to place the government in the hands of Isagoras, who with him had been driven from the citadel: with a great body of forces he himself took possession of Eleusis, whilst the Bœotians, as had been agreed upon, seized Oenoë and Hysias, towns in the extremity of Attica: on another side the Chalcidians laid waste the Athenian territories. The Athenians, however, perplexed by these different attacks, deferred their revenge on the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and marched with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis.

LXXV. Whilst the two armies were prepared to engage, the Corinthians first of all, as if conscious of their having acted an unjustifiable part, turned their backs and retired. Their example was followed by Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also a king of Sparta, had conducted a body of forces from Lacedæmon, and till now had seconded Cleomenes in all his

measures. On account of this dissension between their princes, the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time. They determined also, that one of the Tyndaridæ should remain with the prince who was left at home, both of whom, till now, had accompanied them on foreign expeditions. The rest of the confederates at Eleusis, perceiving this disunion of the princes, and the secession of the Corinthians, returned to their respective homes.

LXXVI. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had entered Attica, twice as enemies, and twice with pacific and friendly views. Their first expedition was to establish a colony at Megara, which was when Codrus reigned at Athens. They came from Sparta the second and third time to expel the Pisistratidæ. The fourth time was when Cleomenes and the Peloponnesians attacked Eleusis.

LXXVII. The Athenians, observing the adversary's army thus ignominiously diminish, gave place to the desire of revenge, and determined first to attack the Chalcidians, to assist whom the Bœotians advanced as far as the Euripus. On sight of them the Athenians resolved to attack them before the Chalcidians; they accordingly gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they passed into Eubœa, and fought the Chalcidians; over these also they were victorious, and they left a colony to the number of four thousand on the lands of the Hippobotæ, by which name the most opulent of the Chalcidians were distinguished. Such of these as they took prisoners, as well as their Bœotian captives, they at first put in irons, and kept in close confinement: they afterwards suffered them to be ransomed at two minæ a man, suspending their chains from the citadel. These were to be seen even within my memory, hanging from the walls which were burnt by the Medes, near the temple facing the west. The tenth part of the money produced from the ransom of their prisoners was consecrated; with it they purchased a chariot of brass for four horses: it was

placed at the left-hand side of the entrance of the citadel, with this inscription :

Her arms when Chalcis and Bœotia tried,
Athens in chains and darkness quell'd their pride:
Their ransom paid, the tenths are here bestow'd,
A votive gift to fav'ring Pallas ow'd.

LXXVIII. The Athenians continued to increase in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various instances, it may be made appear that an equal form of government is the best. Whilst the Athenians were in subjection to tyrants, they were superior in war to none of their neighbours, but when delivered from their oppressors, they far surpassed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilst under the restraint of a master, they were incapable of any spirited exertions, but as soon as they obtained their liberty, each man zealously exercised his talents on his own account.

LXXIX. The Thebans after this, desirous of obtaining revenge, sent to consult the oracle. In reply, the Pythian assured them, that of themselves they would be unable to accomplish this. She recommended them to consult their popular assembly, and to apply to their nearest neighbours for assistance. Those employed in this business called, on their return, an assembly of their countrymen, to whom they communicated the reply of the oracle. Hearing that they were required to ask assistance of their neighbours, they deliberated among themselves. "What!" said some of them, "do not the Tanagræi, the Coroniæi, and the Thespians, who are our neighbours, constantly act in concert with us? do they not always assist us, in war, with the most friendly and spirited exertions? To these there can be no occasion to apply; the oracle must therefore have some other meaning."

LXXX. Whilst they were thus debating, some one among them exclaimed, "I think that I am able to penetrate the meaning of the oracle; Asopus is reported to have had two daughters, Thebe and Ægina; as these were sisters, I am inclined to believe that the deity would have us apply to the Æginetæ to assist

us in obtaining revenge." The Thebans, not being able to devise any more plausible interpretation, thought that they acted in conformity to the will of the oracle, by sending to the Æginetæ for assistance, as to their nearest neighbours, who, in return, engaged to send the Æacidæ to their aid.

LXXXI. The Thebans, relying on the assistance of the Æacidæ, commenced hostilities with the Athenians, but they met with so ill a reception, that they determined to send back the Æacidæ, and to require the aid of some troops. The application was favourably received, and the Æginetæ, confident in their riches, and mindful of their ancient enmity with the Athenians, began hostilities against them, without any formal declaration of war. Whilst the forces of Athens were solely employed against the Bœotians, they passed over with a fleet into Attica, and not only plundered Phaleros, but almost all the inhabitants of the coast; by which the Athenians sustained considerable injury.

LXXXII. The first occasion of the enmity between the Æginetæ and the Athenians was this: the Epidaurians, being afflicted by a severe and continued famine, consulted the Delphic oracle; the Pythian enjoined them to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia, promising that their situation would then be amended. The Epidaurians next inquired, whether they should construct these statues of brass or of stone. The priestess replied, of neither, but of the wood of the garden-olive. The Epidaurians, in consequence, applied to the Athenians for permission to take one of their olives, believing these of all others the most sacred; indeed it is said, that at this period olives were nowhere else to be found. The Athenians granted their request, on condition that they should every year furnish a sacrifice to Minerva Polias, and to Erectheus. The Epidaurians, acceding to these terms, constructed of the Athenian olive the figures which had been enjoined; and, as their lands immediately became fruitful, they punctually fulfilled their engagements with the Athenians.

LXXXIII. At and before this period, the Æginetæ were so far in subjection to the Epidaurians, that all

subjects of litigation betwixt themselves and the people of Epidaurus were determined among the latter. In process of time they built themselves a fleet, and revolted from their allegiance; becoming still more powerful, they made themselves masters of the sea, and plundered their former masters, carrying away the images of Damia and Auxesia. These they deposited in the centre of their own territories, in a place called Œa, about twenty stadia from their city: having done this, they instituted sacrifices in their honour, with ludicrous choruses of women; assigning to each of these goddesses ten men, who were to preside over the choruses. These choruses did not insult any male, but the females of the country. The Epidaurians had dances similar to these, with other ceremonies which were mysterious.

LXXXIV. From the time of their losing these images, the Epidaurians ceased to observe their engagements with the Athenians, who sent to remonstrate with them on the occasion. They made reply, that in this respect they were guilty of no injustice, for as long as they possessed the images, they had fulfilled all that was expected from them; having lost these, their obligation became void, devolving from them to the Æginetæ. On receiving this answer, the Athenians sent to Ægina to demand the images, but the Æginetæ denied that the Athenians had any business with them.

LXXXV. The Athenians relate, that after this refusal of their demand, they sent the persons before employed in this business in a vessel to Ægina. As these images were made of the wood of Athens, they were commissioned to carry them away from the place where they stood; but, their attempt to do this not succeeding, they endeavoured to remove them with ropes: in the midst of their efforts they were alarmed by an earthquake, with loud claps of thunder; those employed were seized with a madness, which caused them to kill one another; one only survived, who immediately fled to Phaleros.

LXXXVI. The above is the Athenian account. The Æginetæ affirm, that this expedition was not

made in a single vessel, for they could easily have repelled the attacks of one, or even of many vessels, even if they had possessed no ships of their own; but they say that the Athenians invaded them with a powerful fleet; in consequence of which they retired, not choosing to hazard a naval engagement. It is, however, by no means evident, whether they declined a sea-fight from a want of confidence in their own power, or whether they retired voluntarily and from design. It is certain that the Athenians, meeting with no resistance, advanced to the place where the images stood, and not able to separate them from their bases, they dragged them along with ropes; during which, both the figures did what seems incredible to me, whatever it may to others. They assert, that they both fell upon their knees, in which attitude they have ever since remained. Such were the proceedings of the Athenians. The people of Ægina, according to their own account, hearing of the hostile intentions of the Athenians, took care that the Argives should be ready to assist them. As soon, therefore, as the Athenians landed at Ægina, the Argives were at hand, and, unperceived by the enemy, passed over from Epidaurus to the island, whence intercepting their retreat to their ships, they fell upon the Athenians; at which moment of time an earthquake happened, accompanied with thunder.

LXXXVII. In their relation of the above circumstances, the Æginetæ and the Argives concur. The Athenians acknowledge, that one only of their countrymen returned to Attica; but this man, the Argives say, was the sole survivor of a defeat, which they gave the Athenians; whilst these affirm, that he escaped from the vengeance of the divinity, which, however, he did not long elude, for he afterwards perished in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and related at large the destruction of his countrymen, the wives of those who had been engaged in the expedition against Ægina were extremely exasperated that he alone should survive; they accordingly surrounded the man, and each of them asking for her husband, they wounded him with the clasps of their

garments, till he died. This behaviour of their women was more afflicting to the Athenians than the misfortune which preceded it; all however they could do was to make them afterwards assume the Ionian dress. Before this incident, the women of Athens wore the Doric vest, which much resembles the Corinthian; that they might have no occasion for clasps, they obliged them to wear linen tunics.

LXXXVIII. It seems reasonable to believe, that this vest was not originally Ionian but Carian: formerly the dress of the Grecian females was universally the same with what we now call Dorian. It is reported, that the Argives and the Æginetæ, in opposition to the above ordinance of the Athenians, directed their women to wear clasps, almost twice as large as usual, and ordained these to be the particular votive offering made by the women, in the temples of the above divinities. They were suffered to offer there nothing which was Attic; even the common earthen vessels were prohibited, of which they were allowed to use none but what were made in their own country. Such, even to my time, has been the contradictory spirit of the women of Argos and Ægina, with respect to those of Athens, that the former have persevered in wearing their clasps larger than before.

LXXXIX. This which I have related, was the origin of the animosity between the people of Athens and Ægina. The latter, still having in mind the old grievance of the statues, readily yielded to the solicitations of the Thebans, and assisted the Bœotians, by ravaging the coasts of Attica. Whilst the Athenians were preparing to revenge the injury, they were warned by a communication from the Delphic oracle to refrain from all hostilities with the people of Ægina for the space of thirty years: at the termination of this period they were to erect a fane to Eacus, and might then commence offensive operations against the Æginetæ with success; but if they immediately began hostilities, although they would do the enemy essential injury, and finally subdue them, they would in the interval suffer much themselves. On receiving this communication from the oracle, the Athenians erected a sacred edifice

to Eacus, which may now be seen in their forum; but notwithstanding the menace impending over them, they were unable to defer the prosecution of their revenge for the long period of thirty years.

XC. Whilst they were thus preparing for revenge, their designs were impeded by what happened at Lacedæmon. The Spartans having discovered the intrigues between the Alcæonidæ and the Pythian, and what this last had done against the Pisistratidæ and themselves, perceived that they were involved in a double disappointment. Without at all conciliating the Athenians, they had expelled from thence their own friends and allies. They were also seriously impressed by certain oracles, which taught them to expect from the Athenians many and great calamities. Of these they were entirely ignorant, till they were made known by Cleomenes at Sparta. Cleomenes had discovered and seized them in the citadel of Athens, where they had been originally deposited by the Pisistratidæ, who, on being expelled, had left them in the temple.

XCI. On hearing from Cleomenes the above oracular declarations, the Lacedæmonians observed that the Athenians increased in power, and were but little inclined to remain subject to them; they farther reflected, that though when oppressed by tyrants, the people of Athens were weak and submissive, the possession of liberty would not fail to make them formidable rivals. In consequence of these deliberations, they sent for Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, from Sigæum on the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidæ had taken refuge. On his arrival, they assembled also the representatives of their other allies, and thus expressed themselves: "We confess to you, friends and allies, that under the impression of oracles, which deceived us, we have greatly erred. The men who had claims upon our kindness, and who would have rendered Athens obedient to our will, we have banished from their country, and have delivered that city into the power of an ungrateful faction. Not remembering that to us they are indebted for their liberty, they are become insolent, and have expelled disgracefully from

among them, us and our king. They are endeavouring, we hear, to make themselves more and more formidable: this their neighbours the Bœotians and Chalcidians have already experienced, as will others also who may happen to offend them. To atone for our past errors and neglect, we now profess ourselves ready to assist you in chastising them: for this reason, we have sent for Hippias, and assembled you; intending, by the joint operations of one united army, to restore him to Athens, and to that dignity of which we formerly deprived him."

XCII. These sentiments of the Spartans were approved by very few of the confederates. After a long interval of silence, Sosicles of Corinth made this reply: "We may henceforth certainly expect to see the heavens take place of the earth, the earth that of the heavens; to see mankind existing in the waters, and the scaly tribe on earth, since you, O Lacedæmonians, meditate the subversion of free and equal governments, and the establishment of arbitrary power; than which surely nothing can be more unjust in itself, or more destructive in its effects. If you consider tyranny with so favourable an eye, before you think of introducing it elsewhere, show us the example, and submit first to a tyrant yourselves: at present, you are not only without a tyrant, but it should seem, that in Sparta, nothing can be guarded against with more vigilant anxiety: why then wish to involve your confederates in what to you appears so great a calamity; a calamity which like us if you had known, experience would doubtless have prompted a more sagacious counsel? The government of Corinth was formerly in the hands of a few; they who were called the Bacchiadæ had the administration of affairs. To cement and confirm their authority, they were careful to contract no marriages but among themselves. One of these, whose name was Amphion, had a daughter called Labda, who was lame. As none of the Bacchiadæ were willing to marry her, they united her to Eetion, son of Echerates, who, though of the low tribe of Petra, was in his origin one of the Lapithæ, descended from Cæneus. As he had no children by this

or by any other wife, he went to Delphi to consult the oracle on this subject. At the moment of his entering the temple, he was thus addressed by the Pythian :—

Eetion, honour'd far below thy worth ;
 Know Labda shall produce a monstrous birth,
 A stone, which, rolling with enormous weight,
 Shall crush usurpers and reform the state.

This prediction to Eetion came by accident to the ears of the Bacchiadæ. An oracle had before spoken concerning Corinth, which, though dark and obscure, was evidently of the same tendency with that declared to Eetion: it was this:—

Amidst the rocks an eagle shall produce
 An eagle, who shall many knees unloose,
 Bloody and strong: guard then your measures well,
 Ye who in Corinth and Pirene dwell!

When this oracle was first delivered to the Bacchiadæ, they had no conception of its meaning; but as soon as they learned the particulars of that given to Eetion, they understood the first from the last. The result was, that they confined the secret to themselves, determining to destroy the future child of Eetion. As soon as the woman was delivered, they commissioned ten of their number to go to the place where Eetion lived, and make away with the infant. As soon as they came to where the tribe of Petra resided, they went to Eetion's house, and asked for the child: Labda, ignorant of their intentions, and imputing this visit to their friendship for her husband, produced her infant, and gave it into the arms of one of them. It had been concerted, that whoever should first have the child in his hands, was to dash it on the ground: it happened, as if by divine interposition, that the infant smiled in the face of the man to whom the mother had intrusted it. He was seized with an emotion of pity, and found himself unable to destroy it; with these feelings, he gave the child to the person next him, who gave it to a third, till thus it passed through the hands of all the ten: no one of them was able to murder it, and it was returned to the mother. On leaving the house, they stopped at the gate, and began to reproach and accuse each other, but particu-

larly him who first receiving the child, had failed in his engagements. After a short interval, they agreed to enter the house again, and jointly destroy the child: but fate had determined that the offspring of Eetion should ultimately prove the destruction of Corinth. Labda, standing near the gate, had overheard their discourse, and fearing that as their sentiments were changed, they would infallibly, if they had opportunity, murder her infant, she carried it away, and hid it in a place little obvious to suspicion, namely, in a corn measure. She was satisfied, that on their return they would make a strict search after the child, which accordingly happened: finding, however, all their diligence ineffectual, they thought it only remained for them to return and acquaint their employers, that they had executed their commission. When the son of Eetion grew up, he was called Cypselus, in memory of the danger he had escaped in the 'corn measure,' the meaning of the word Cypsela. On his arrival at manhood, he consulted the Delphic oracle; the answer he received was ambiguous; but confident of its favourable meaning, he attacked and made himself master of Corinth. The oracle was this:—

Behold a man, whom fortune makes her care,
 Corinthian Cypselus, Eetion's heir;
 Himself shall reign, his children too prevail,
 But there the glories of his race must fall.

When Cypselus had obtained possession of the government, he persecuted the inhabitants of Corinth, depriving many of their wealth, and more of their lives. After an undisturbed reign of thirty years, he was succeeded by his son Periander, who at first adopted a milder and more moderate conduct; but having by his emissaries formed an intimate connexion with Thrasybulus, sovereign of Miletus, he even exceeded his father in cruelty. The object of one of his embassies was to inquire of Thrasybulus what mode of government would render his authority most secure and most honourable. Thrasybulus conducted the messenger to a corn-field without the town, where, as he walked up and down, he asked some

questions of the man relative to his departure from Corinth; in the mean while, wherever he discerned a head of corn taller than the rest, he cut it off, till all the highest and the richest were levelled with the ground. Having gone over the whole field in this manner, he retired, without speaking a word to the person who attended him. On the return of his emissary to Corinth, Periander was extremely anxious to learn the result of his journey, but he was informed, that Thrasybulus had never said a word in reply; that he even appeared to be a man deprived of his reason, and bent on the destruction of his own property. The messenger then proceeded to inform his master of what Thrasybulus had done. Periander immediately conceived the meaning of Thrasybulus to be, that he should destroy the most illustrious of his citizens. He in consequence exercised every species of cruelty, till he completed what his father Cypselus had begun, killing some, and driving others into exile. On account of his wife Melissa, he one day stripped all the women of Corinth of their clothes. He had sent into Thesprotia, near the river Acheron, to consult the oracle of the dead, concerning something of value which had been left by a stranger. Melissa appearing, declared that she would by no means tell where the thing required was deposited; for she was cold and naked; for the garments in which she was interred were of no service to her, not having been burned. In proof of which, she asserted, that Periander had 'put bread into a cold oven;' Periander, on hearing this, was satisfied of the truth of what she said, for he had embraced Melissa after her decease. On the return therefore of his messengers, he commanded all the women of Corinth to assemble at the temple of Juna. On this occasion the women came as to some public festival, adorned with the greatest splendour. The king, having placed his guards for the purpose, caused them all to be stripped, free women and slaves, without distinction. Their clothes were afterwards disposed in a large trench, and burned in honour of Melissa, who was solemnly invoked on the occasion. When this was done,

a second messenger was despatched to Melissa, who now vouchsafed to say where the thing required might be found. Such, oh men of Sparta, is a tyrannical government, and such its effects. Much, therefore, were we Corinthians astonished, when we learned that you had sent for Hippias; but the declaration of your sentiments surprises us still more. We adjure you therefore, in the names of the divinities of Greece, not to establish tyranny in our cities. But if you are determined in your purpose, and are resolved in opposition to what is just, to restore Hippias, be assured that the Corinthians will not second you."

XCIII. Sosicles, the deputy of the Corinthians, having delivered his sentiments, was answered by Hippias. He having adjured the same divinities, declared, that the Corinthians would most of all have occasion to regret the Pisistratidæ, when the destined hour should arrive, and they should groan under the oppression of the Athenians. Hippias spoke with the greater confidence, because he was best acquainted with the declarations of the oracles. The rest of the confederates, who had hitherto been silent, hearing the generous sentiments of Sosicles, declared themselves the friends of freedom, and favourers of the opinions of the Corinthians. They then conjured the Lacedæmonians to introduce no innovations which might affect the liberties of a Grecian city.

XCIV. When Hippias departed from Sparta, Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered him for a residence, Anthemus, as did the Thessalians, Ioclos; but he would accept of neither, and returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken by force from the people of Mitylene. He had appointed Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos, governor of the place, who did not retain his situation without much and violent contest. The people of Mitylene and of Athens issuing, the one from the city of Achillea, the other from Sigeum, were long engaged in hostilities. They of Mitylene insisted on the restoration of what had been violently taken from them; but it was answered, that the Æolians had no stronger claims upon the territories of Troy, than the Athenians them-

selves, and the rest of the Greeks, who had assisted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen.

XCV. Among their various encounters it happened that in a severe engagement, in which the Athenians had the advantage, the poet Alcæus fled from the field. The Athenians obtained his arms, and suspended them at Sigeum, in the temple of Minerva. Alcæus recorded the event in a poem which he sent to Mitylene, explaining to a friend named Melanippus, the particulars of his misfortune. Periander the son of Cypselus at length re-united the contending nations: he being chosen arbiter, determined that each party should retain what they possessed. Sigeum thus devolved to the Athenians.

XCVI. Hippias, when he left Sparta, went to Asia, where he used every effort to render the Athenians odious to Artaphernes, and to prevail on him to make them subject to him and to Darius. As soon as the intrigues of Hippias were known at Athens, the Athenians despatched emissaries to Sardis, entreating the Persians to place no confidence in men whom they had driven into exile. Artaphernes informed them in reply, that if they wished for peace, they must recall Hippias. Rather than accede to these conditions, the Athenians chose to be considered as the enemies of Persia.

XCVII. Whilst they were resolving on these measures, in consequence of the impression which had been made to their prejudice in Persia, Aristagoras the Milesian, being driven by Cleomenes from Sparta, arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond the rest of its neighbours. When Aristagoras appeared in the public assembly, he enumerated, as he had done in Sparta, the riches which Asia possessed, and recommended a Persian war, in which they would be easily successful against a people using neither spear nor shield. In addition to this, he remarked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that consequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power they possessed, in favour of the Milesians. He proceeded to make use of the most earnest entreaties and lavish promises, till they finally acced-

ed to his views. He thought, and as it appeared with justice, that it was far easier to delude a great multitude than a single individual; he was unable to prevail upon Cleomenes, but he won to his purpose no less than thirty thousand Athenians. The people of Athens accordingly agreed to send to the assistance of the Ionians, twenty vessels of war, of which Melanthius, a very amiable and popular character, was to have the command. This fleet was the source of the calamities which afterwards ensued to the Greeks and Barbarians.

XCVIII. Before their departure, Aristagoras returned to Miletus, where he contrived a measure from which no advantage could possibly result to the Ionians. Indeed his principal motive was to distress Darius. He despatched a messenger into Phrygia, to those Pæonians who from the banks of the Strymon had been led away captive by Megabyzus, and who inhabited a district appropriated to them. His emissaries thus addressed them: "Men of Pæonia, I am commissioned by Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, to say, that if you will follow his counsel, you may be free. The whole of Ionia has revolted from Persia, and it becomes you to seize this opportunity of returning to your native country. You have only to appear on the banks of the ocean; we will provide for the rest." The Pæonians received this information with great satisfaction, and with their wives and children fled towards the sea. Some, however, yielding to their fears, remained behind. From the sea-coast they passed over to Chios: here they had scarcely disembarked, before a large body of Persian cavalry, sent in pursuit of them, appeared on the opposite shore. Unable to overtake them, they sent over to them at Chios, soliciting their return. This however had no effect: from Chios they were transported to Lesbos, from Lesbos to Doriscus, and from hence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

XCIX. At this juncture, Aristagoras was joined by the Athenians in twenty vessels, who were also accompanied by five triremes of Eretrians. These latter did not engage in the contest from any regard for

the Athenians, but to discharge a similar debt of friendship to the Milesians. The Milesians had formerly assisted the Eretrians against the Chalcidians, when the Samians had united with them against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these and the rest of his confederates were assembled, Aristagoras commenced an expedition against Sardis: he himself continued at Miletus, whilst his brother Charopinus commanded the Milesians, and Hermophantus had the conduct of the allies.

C. The Ionians arriving with their fleet at Ephesus, disembarked at Coressus, a place in its vicinity. Taking some Ephesians for their guides, they advanced with a formidable force, directing their march towards the Cayster. Passing over mount Tmolus, they arrived at Sardis, where meeting no resistance, they made themselves masters of the whole of the city, except the citadel. This was defended by Artaphernes himself, with a large body of troops.

CI. The following incident preserved the city from plunder: the houses of Sardis were in general constructed of reeds; the few which were of brick, had reed coverings. One of these being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house, till the whole city was consumed. In the midst of the conflagration, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, seeing themselves surrounded by the flames, and without the possibility of escape, rushed in crowds to the forum, through the centre of which flows the Pactolus. This river brings, in its descent from mount Tmolus, a quantity of gold-dust; passing, as we have described, through Sardis, it mixes with the Hermus, till both are finally lost in the sea. The Persians and Lydians, thus reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to act on the defensive. The Ionians seeing some of the enemy prepared to defend themselves, others advancing to attack them, were seized with a panic, and retired to mount Tmolus, from whence, under favour of the night, they retreated to their ships.

CII. In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally de-

stroyed, which was afterwards made a pretence by the Persians, for burning the temples of the Greeks. When the Persians, who dwell on this side the Halys, were acquainted with the above invasion, they determined to assist the Lydians. Following the Ionians regularly from Sardis, they came up with them at Ephesus. A general engagement ensued, in which the Ionians were defeated with great slaughter. Among others of distinction who fell, was Eualcis, chief of the Eretrians: he had frequently been victorious in many contests, of which a garland was the reward, and had been particularly celebrated by Simonides of Ceos. They who escaped from this battle, took refuge in the different cities.

CIII. After the event of the above expedition, the Athenians withdrew themselves entirely from the Ionians, and refused all the solicitations of Aristagoras by his ambassadors, to repeat their assistance. The Ionians, though deprived of this resource, continued with no less alacrity to persevere in the hostilities they had commenced against Darius. They sailed to the Hellespont, and reduced Byzantium, with the neighbouring cities: quitting that part again, and advancing to Caria, the greater part of the inhabitants joined them in their offensive operations. The city of Caunus, which at first had refused their alliance, after the burning of Sardis, added itself to their forces.

CIV. The confederacy was also farther strengthened by the voluntary accessions of all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians. The following was the occasion of the revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes: Gorgus, prince of Salamis, son of Chersis, grandson of Siromus, great grandson of Euclithon, had a younger brother, whose name was Onesilus; this man had repeatedly solicited Gorgus to revolt from the Persians; and on hearing of the secession of the Ionians, he urged him with still greater importunity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, assisted by his party, he took an opportunity of his brother's making his excursion from Salamis, to shut the gates against him: Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, took refuge among the Medes. Onesilus usurped his station, and

persuaded the Cyprians to rebel. The Amathusians, who alone opposed him, he closely besieged.

CV. At this period, Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras of Miletus was the principal instigator of the confederacy against him. On first receiving the intelligence, he is said to have treated the revolt of the Ionians with extreme contempt, as if certain that it was impossible for them to escape his indignation; but he desired to know who the Athenians were? On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed:—"Suffer me, oh Jupiter, to be revenged on these Athenians." He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Sir, remember the Athenians."

CVI. After giving these orders, Darius summoned to his presence Histæus of Miletus, whom he had long detained at his court. He addressed him thus: "I am informed, Histæus, that the man to whom you intrusted the government of Miletus, has excited a rebellion against me; he has procured forces from the opposite continent, and seduced the Ionians, whom I shall unquestionably chastise, from their duty. With their united assistance, he has destroyed my city of Sardis. Can such a conduct possibly meet with your approbation? or, unadvised by you, could he have done what he has? Be careful not to involve yourself in a second offence against my authority." "Can you, Sir, believe," said Histæus in reply, "that I would be concerned in any thing which might occasion the smallest perplexity to you? What should I, who have nothing to wish for, gain by such conduct? Do I not participate all that you yourself enjoy: and have I not the honour of being your counsellor and your friend? If my representative has acted as you allege, it is entirely his own deed; but I cannot easily be persuaded that either he, or the Milesians, would engage in any thing to your prejudice. If, nevertheless, what you intimate be really true, by withdrawing me from my own proper station, you have only to blame yourself for the event. I suppose

that the Ionians have taken the opportunity of my absence, to accomplish what they have for a long time meditated. Had I been present in Ionia, I will venture to affirm, that not a city would have revolted from your power: you have only therefore to send me instantly to Ionia, that things may resume their former situation, and that I may give into your power the present governor of Miletus, who has occasioned all this mischief. Having first effected this, I swear by the deities of Heaven, that I will not change the garb in which I shall set foot in Ionia, without rendering the great island of Sardinia tributary to your power."

CVII. Histæus made these protestations to delude Darius. The king was influenced by what he said, only requiring his return to Susa, as soon as he should have fulfilled his engagements.

CVIII. In this interval, when the messenger from Sardis had informed Darius of the fate of that city, and the king had shot an arrow in the manner I have described; and when, after conferring with Histæus, he had dismissed him to Ionia, the following incident occurred: Onesilus of Salamis being engaged in the siege of Amathus, word was brought him that Artymbius, a Persian officer, was on his way to Cyprus with a large fleet, and a formidable body of Persians. On hearing this, Onesilus sent messengers to different parts of Ionia, expressing his want and desire of assistance. The Ionians, without hesitation, hastened to join him with a numerous fleet. Whilst they were already at Cyprus, the Persians had passed over from Cilicia, and were proceeding by land to Salamis. The Phœnicians in the mean time had passed the promontory which is called the Key of Cyprus.

CIX. Whilst things were in this situation, the princes of Cyprus assembled the Ionian chiefs, and thus addressed them:—"Men of Ionia, we submit to your determination, whether you will engage the Phœnicians or the Persians. If you rather choose to fight on land and with the Persians, it is time for you to disembark, that we may go on board your vessels, and attack the Phœnicians. If you think it more ad-

visible to encounter the Phœnicians, it becomes you to do so immediately. Decide which way you please, that as far as our efforts can prevail, Ionia and Cyprus may be free." "We have been commissioned," answered the Ionians, "by our country, to guard the ocean, not to deliver up our vessels unto you, nor to engage the Persians by land. We will endeavour to discharge our duty in the station appointed us; it is for you to distinguish yourselves as valiant men, remembering the oppressions you have endured from the Medes."

CX. When the Persians were drawn up before Salamis, the Cyprian commanders placed the forces of Cyprus against the auxiliaries of the enemy, selecting the flower of Salamis and Soli to oppose the Persians: Onesilus voluntarily stationed himself against Artybius, the Persian general.

CXI. Artybius was mounted on a charger, which had been taught to face a man in complete armour. Onesilus hearing this, called to him his shield-bearer, who was a Carian of great military experience, and of undaunted courage:—"I hear," says he, "that the horse of Artybius, by his feet and teeth, materially assists his master against an adversary; deliberate on this, and tell me which you will encounter, the man or the horse." "Sir," said the attendant, "I am ready to engage with either, or both, or indeed to do whatever you command me; I should rather think it will be more consistent for you, being a prince and a general, to contend with one who is a prince and general also. If you should fortunately kill a person of this description, you will acquire great glory, or if you should fall by his hand, which Heaven avert, the calamity is somewhat softened by the rank of the conqueror: it is for us of inferior rank to oppose men like ourselves. As to the horse, do not concern yourself about what he has been taught; I will venture to say, that he shall never again be troublesome to any one."

CXII. In a short time afterwards, the hostile forces engaged both by sea and land; the Ionians, after a severe contest, obtained a victory over the Phœnicians, in which the bravery of the Samians was remarkably

conspicuous. Whilst the armies were engaged by land, the following incident happened to the two generals: Artybius, mounted on his horse, rushed against Onesilus, who, as he had concerted with his servant, aimed a blow at him as he approached: and whilst the horse reared up his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian cut them off with an axe. The horse, with his master, fell instantly to the ground.

CXIII. In the midst of the battle, Stesenor, prince of Curium, with a considerable body of forces, went over to the enemy (it is said that the Curians are an Argive colony); their example was followed by the men of Salamis, in their chariots of war; from which events the Persians obtained a decisive victory. The Cyprians fled. Among the number of the slain was Onesilus, son of Chersis, and the principal instigator of the revolt; the Solian prince, Aristocyprus also fell, son of that Philocyprus, whom Solon of Athens, when at Cyprus, celebrated in verse among other sovereign princes.

CXIV. In revenge for his besieging them, the Amathusians took the head of Onesilus, and carrying it back in triumph, fixed it over their gates: some time afterwards, when the inside of the head was decayed, a swarm of bees settling within it, filled it with honey. The people of Amathus consulted the oracle on the occasion, and were directed to bury the head, and every year to sacrifice to Onesilus as to a hero. Their obedience involved a promise of future prosperity; and even within my remembrance, they have performed what was required of them.

CXV. The Ionians, although successful in the naval engagement off Cyprus, as soon as they heard of the defeat and death of Onesilus, and that all the cities of Cyprus were closely blockaded, except Salamis, which the citizens had restored to Gorgus, their former sovereign, returned with all possible expedition to Ionia. Of all the towns in Cyprus, Soli made the longest and most vigorous defence; but of this, by undermining the place, the Persians obtained possession after a five months' siege.

CXVI. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their

liberties for the space of a year, were a second time reduced to servitude. All the Ionians who had been engaged in the expedition against Sardis, were afterwards vigorously attacked by Daurises, Hymeeas, Otanes, and other Persian generals, each of whom had married a daughter of Darius: they first drove them to their ships, then took and plundered their towns, which they divided among themselves.

CXVII. Daurises afterwards turned his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, and in as many successive days made himself master of Abydos, Percotes, Lampsacus and Pæson. From this latter place he proceeded to Parion, but learning on his march, that the Carians, taking part with the Ionians, had revolted from Persia, he turned aside from the Hellespont, and led his forces against Caria.

CXVIII. The Carians had early information of this motion of Daurises, in consequence of which they assembled at a place called the White Columns, not far from the river Marsyas, which, passing through the district of Hidryas, flows into the Mæander. Various sentiments were on this occasion delivered: but the most sagacious in my estimation was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus; he was a native of Cindys, and had married the daughter of Syennesis, prince of Cilicia. He advised, that passing the Mæander, they should attack the enemy, with the river in their rear; that thus deprived of all possibility of retreat, they should from compulsion stand their ground, and make the greater exertions of valour. This advice was not accepted; they chose rather that the Persians should have the Mæander behind them, that if they vanquished the enemy in the field, they might afterwards drive them into the river.

CXIX. The Persians advanced and passed the Mæander; the Carians met them on the banks of the Marsyas, when a severe and well-fought contest ensued. The Persians had so greatly the advantage in point of number, that they were finally victorious; two thousand Persians and ten thousand Carians fell in the battle; they who escaped from the field fled to Labranda, and took refuge in a sacred wood of planes,

surrounding a temple of Jupiter Stratius. The Carians are the only people, as far as I am able to learn, who sacrifice to this Jupiter. Driven to the above extremity, they deliberated among themselves, whether it would be better to surrender themselves to the Persians, or finally to relinquish Asia.

CXX. In the midst of their consultation, the Milesians with their allies arrived to reinforce them; the Carians resumed their courage, and again prepared for hostilities; they a second time advanced to meet the Persians, and after an engagement more obstinate than the former, sustained a second defeat, in which a prodigious number, chiefly of Milesians, were slain.

CXXI. The Carians soon recruited their forces, and in a subsequent action somewhat repaired their former losses. Receiving intelligence that the Persians were on their march to attack their towns, they placed themselves in ambuscade, in the road to Pidasus. The Persians by night fell into the snare, and a vast number were slain, with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisimaces; Myrses, the son of Gyges, was also of the number.

CXXII. The conduct of this ambuscade was intrusted to Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian. The event has been related. Hymeas, who was engaged among others in the pursuit of the Ionians, after the affair of Sardis, turning towards the Propontis, took Cios, a Mysian city. Receiving intelligence that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, to march against Caria, he left the Propontis, and proceeded to the Hellespont, where he effectually reduced all the Æolians of the Trojan district; he vanquished also the Gergithæ, a remnant of the ancient Teucri. Hymeas himself, after all these successes, died at Troas.

CXXIII. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, the third in command, received orders to lead their forces to Ionia and Æolia, which is contiguous to it; they made themselves masters of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and of Cyma an Æolian city.

CXXIV. After the capture of these places, Aristagoras of Miletus, though the author of all the confusion in which Ionia had been involved, betrayed a

total want of intrepidity; these losses confirmed him in the belief that all attempts to overcome Darius would be ineffectual; he accordingly determined to seek his safety in flight. He assembled his party, and submitted to them whether it would not be advisable to have some place of retreat, in case they should be driven from Miletus. He left it to them to determine, whether they should establish a colony in Sardinia, or whether they should retire to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians, which had been fortified by Histæus, to whom Darius had presented it.

CXXV. Hecatæus the historian, who was the son of Hegasander, was not for establishing a colony at either of these places; he affirmed, that if they should be expelled from Miletus, it would be more expedient for them to construct a fort in the island of Leros, and there remain till a favourable opportunity should enable them to return to Miletus.

CXXVI. Aristagoras himself was more inclined to retire to Myrcinus; he confided therefore the administration of Miletus to Pythagoras, a man exceedingly popular, and taking with him all those who thought proper to accompany him, he embarked for Thrace, where he took possession of the district which he had in view. Leaving this place, he proceeded to the attack of some other, where both he and his army fell by the hands of the Thracians, who had previously entered into terms to resign their city into his power.

END OF VOL. II.



